

War on Voters ?

Audit and Analysis Report Pakistan General Elections 2024 Vol. 1



Sarwar Bari and Abdul Qadir

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Pakistan General Elections 2024. Vol-1

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Dedication

**This report is dedicated to the voters who dared
to use their right to vote consciencely in an extremely
hostile and hardship environment.**

War on Voters?
Audit and Analysis Report
Pakistan General Elections 2024
Vol-1

***“... the State shall exercise its powers and authority
through the chosen representatives of the people.”***

Preamble of Pakistan’s Constitution

***“It shall be the duty of the Election Commission to organize
and conduct the election and to make such arrangements as
are necessary to ensure that the election is conducted honestly,
justly, fairly and in accordance with law, and that corrupt
practices are guarded against.”***

Article 218 (3) of the Constitution of Pakistan.



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Glossary

ANP	Awami National Party	NA	National Assembly
APP	Application	NADRA	National Database & Registration Authority
BNP	Baloch National Party	NCs	National constituencies
CBOs	Community Based Organizations	NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
CCI	Council of Common Interests	PA	Provincial Assembly
CEC	Chief Election Commissioner	PAVs	Participatory Affiliated Voters
CM	Chief Minister	PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
COAS	Chief of the Army Staff	PCPG	Patron Client Power Grid
COD	Charter of Democracy	PCs	Provincial Constituencies
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations	PDM	Pakistan Democratic Movement
CVs	Curriculum Vitae	PEOAAP	Participatory Election Observation, Audit & Analysis Programme
ECP	Election Commission of Pakistan	PKMAP	Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
EMS	Election Management System	PKR	Pakistani Rupee
EVM	Electronic Voting Machine	PM	Prime Minister
FPTP	First-Past-the-Post	PMLN	Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz
GE	General Elections	PNAP	Pashtunkhwa National Awami Party
GEO	News channel (electronic media)	POs	Presiding Officers
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences	PP	Provincial Assembly of Punjab
GVG	Gender Vote Gap	PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
IHC	Islamabad High Court	PR	Proportional Representation
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad	PRA	Participatory Rapid Appraisal
IND	Independent Candidate	PSs	Polling Stations
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence	PTI	Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf
JUI	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam	QWP	Qaumi Watan Party
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	ROs	Returning Officers
LG	Local Government	SPS	Shared Polling Station
MMA	Mutahid Majlis e Amal	SC	Supreme Court
MNAs	Member of National Assembly	SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
MOV	Margins of victory	TLP	Tehreek e Labaik
MPs	Member of Parliaments	UN	The United Nations
MQMP	Muttahida Qaumi Movement	VAT	Vote Auditing Tool



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To perform an exercise of this scale and scope under an extremely risky and unpredictable environment could not have been possible without the professionalism, academic vigour, dedication, astuteness and courage of the PATTAN team. I am deeply grateful to every member of PATTAN team. I must especially thank Abdul Qadir, Fida Hussain, M. Ismail Khan, Ayaz Wagha, Saeed Khan, Yasir Hussain as well as Rabia Ghani and Parveen Latif for completing their tasks diligently and timely. Moreover, I must also underscore their contribution to unearthing this swamp of rigging by using very innovative methodology.

Equally, I must appreciate every member organisation of the Coalition-38 at the national, provincial, district and tehsil level for providing their selfless assistance to PATTAN and in implementing the Participatory Election Observation, Audit and Analysis Programme (PEOAAP) in the field diligently. Their steadfast commitment made participatory election observation and exit polls a reality. I, due to space constraints, cannot state the names of everyone here. I, due to space constraints, cannot state the names of everyone here. Few will suffice. Zahida Khan, Latif Ansari, Bismillah Irum, Riaz Jazib, Gulshan Bibi, Fareed, Mohsin, Kamran Zafar, Ghulam Shabir, Malik M. Asif among many.

It would not have been possible to perform my role from afar without the generous hospitality, care and love of my two brothers – Mohsin and Anwar, their wives and my nieces and nephews. Particularly I would like to extend my appreciation to Hibah and Rohan for their valuable assistance throughout my stay in London including preparing tables from the ECP's datasets.

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I must thank my wife Alyia Bano for tolerating my absence from the country for a long time and for proofreading the report. Besides, I am indebted to her for providing valuable legal and technical advice about electoral laws.

Last but not least, I have no words to thank members of PATTAN's Board of Governors for their continuous support and encouragement.

Sarwar Bari
National Coordinator
London, February 2025



FOREWORD

We are a tiny part of Pakistan's civil society, and like every other civil society (beyond NGOs), we also assumed our role as a collective voice of the marginalised that had shaken our conscience in the early 1990s. When injustice and tyranny are widespread and overwhelming, tolerance does not remain an accommodating human quality. Thus, not calling a spade a spade cannot be an option. Making tolerance zero becomes a duty. Empathy is one of the greatest natural sensibilities of human beings. It must be nurtured through practice. Human societies have developed ethics, norms, principles and legal structures for this purpose.

Pakistan's Constitution envisions an egalitarian society (Articles 3, 37 and 38), democratic polity/governance, equality amongst federating units, and above all guarantees FREEDOM to all. Hence, calling 'a spade a spade' becomes a responsibility when the situation demands.

Our Constitution imposes limitations on the powerful and ensures the concept of separation of powers as an integral pillar of our State structure for the dispensation of justice. Holding free, fair and transparent elections under Article 218 is the responsibility of the state. No wonder, this is also an integral part of the Preamble of Pakistan's Constitution – **"... the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people."** But this did not happen. As a result, the process of marginalization accelerated in the country. The legal framework and public policies provide huge space to civil society and disempowered social groups to make rulers accountable. However, due to certain factors, they could not take full advantage of this provision of the Constitution.

We believe that the electoral exercise provides a strategic opportunity for the people of Pakistan to make rulers accountable and to negotiate for improvement. Keeping that in view, we started observing elections. PATTAN evolved a model that has the potential to empower the marginalised sections of society through participatory self-reflection, awareness, cultural transformation, and collective action. Our methodology for election observation, conduct of opinion polls, audit of the conduct of the Election Commission (ECP) and performance of political parties are essentially participatory and citizen-centered. Unlike some other election observer groups, we believe in calling a spade a spade and therefore anyone who is involved in corrupt practices e.g. rigging, manipulation, gerrymandering and violating electoral laws must be held responsible.

Remember those who have stolen your vote and your mandate, most likely they have also stolen your money.

Sarwar Bari
National Coordinator
London, February 2025



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The vote count of General Election 2024 (GE-2024) suddenly hit on the night of the polling after more than half of the provisional results were announced by the national media in which the ‘independent’ candidates were in the lead. When the provisional results were announced by the returning officers (ROs)¹ far beyond the stipulated time amidst widespread accusations of rigging² of huge discrepancies between Form-45 and Form-47³ emerged across the country. The controversial results created an uproar of massive rigging which has not subsided as we approach the first anniversary of GE-2024.

The final consolidated election results published by ECP once again missed the statutory period of 14 days⁴ by a long delay. The published results confirmed the apprehensions that large numbers of Form-45 and Form-46 of several dozen National and Provincial Assembly constituencies were either missing, blank, tampered or counterfeited.

Therefore, PATTAN Coalition-38⁵ decided to analyse and audit the election results. In Volume-I of the report, we present an analysis of political situations that surrounded and emerged before, during, and after GE-2024. The report analyses and explains how people’s mandate was brazenly stolen and audaciously retained. The audits of the election results of electoral constituencies will be presented in Volume II, which is expected to be released shortly.

To study, audit and analyse electoral processes and their outcomes, and look beyond merely observing elections, PATTAN Coalition-38 developed a Participatory Election Observation, Audit and Analysis Programme (PEOAAP) involving citizens as voters – called Participatory Affiliated Voters (PAVs) - drawn from its member organisations.

This volume begins the electoral analysis by contextualizing it in the socio-economic and cultural landscapes. The state of basic education and the literacy rates especially for females and rural areas remain depressing low and stagnant for a long time. Women’s participation in labour markets, ownership and access to economic resources are among the lowest in the world trapping them in low socio-economic status. The women voters’ registration - measured by the Gender-Vote-Gap of 8 percentage points or

¹ The ROs, appointed by the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), supervises the election of a constituency, prepares, communicates and announces the provisional consolidated Results of the Count of the constituency on Form-47 on or before 02:00 am the day immediately following the polling day, in compliance of the Election Act 2017 and the Election Rules 2017.

² The incumbent opposition parties, including Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), with which most of the winning independent candidates were affiliated, accused authorities of delaying results in an attempt to rig the vote.

³ - Form-45 on which the vote counts of polling stations are prepared and released by the Presiding Officer (PO), authorised copies of which are available with the contesting candidates and election observers. Form-47 on which ROs prepare and announce the provisional consolidated statement of the Result of the Count (excluding postal ballots) of constituencies based on Form-45s received from the relevant POs.

⁴ Election Act 2017, Section 98

⁵ Coalition-38 is named after Article 38 of Pakistan’s Constitution which obligates the State to prevent means of production and wealth in few hands. C38 is an alliance of more than 150 CSOs, CBOs, intellectuals, labour unions etc.



nearly 10 million fewer women voters - has not seen any significant improvement despite an increase in the frequency of holding elections over the last two decades.

Patron-client dependency continues to define state-society relations. The patron-client-power grid (PCPG) has concentrated political powers in a few hands by keeping a large part of society marginalized and alienated from the state while aggravating multidimensional socio-economic and political divisions and layers of inequalities, the top of which is stubbornly occupied by military and civilian bureaucrats. Public goods are utilised to reinforce the power nexus instead of delivering to citizens based on constitutional rights and justice.

The First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) electoral system suits the dominant elites to retain their stranglehold on power by supplanting and sustaining their civilian companions in politics who succeed and survive by managing the patronage style of politics in parties and the public. Family dynasties rule the roost in most parties while relegating people to mere subjects of their politics. The recurring lesson of 55 years of Pakistan's election history is that FPTP legitimizes elections won by minority votes, not the majority, in most if not all cases, thus providing every incentive and trick in the book to manipulate elections. If the scheme fails to bear the fruits, the iron hand of the military will be operationalised to execute the daylight robbery of people's electoral mandate as witnessed in GE-2024.

Serious irregularities were already committed before the poll. The results of the 7th National Census conducted in 2023 were announced after long delays of four and a half months. Despite the inter-provincial differentiated population growth observed in the census, the shares of national constituencies were kept unchanged due to political expediency. The updating of voters' lists and limitations process was prolonged beyond the Constitutional deadline of 90 days and in defiance of the Supreme Court Order caused the disenfranchisement of a large number of eligible voters -on aggregate 5% of the population, mostly eligible women voters. Over-registration of voters in some districts (75% and 78% in Jhelum and Muree) raised suspicion about the presence of *ghost* voters while in many districts of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa a large number of eligible voters were excluded from voters' registration. Widespread violations of the principles of delimitation of constituencies as stipulated under the Election Act 2017 were challenged through 69% NA-based and 83% PA-based petitions. Instead of following the decades-old good practice of having two provincial constituencies (PCs) completely under one national constituency (NC), four, five and in some cases even six PCs were clubbed with one NC in GE-2024 to cause fragmentation in representation. The Constitution's open defiance was committed when the elections of two provincial assemblies were delayed for more than a year, far beyond the deadline of 90 days, despite repeated orders from the Supreme Court.

The scheme of election rigging continued with the unprecedented delay in announcing both provisional and consolidated results of GE-2024, as mentioned in the opening paras.

One of the key findings of our audits of electoral results published by the ECP was the presence of huge variations between the voters' turnouts of the National Assembly (NA) and Provincial Assemblies (PA). These discrepancies are caused by (i) fake additions, (ii) retraction of valid votes or the combination of both in the statements of vote counts and ballot paper accounts and (iii) by rejecting a large number of validly cast votes. The correlation between the victory margins of favourite candidates and the magnitude of fake/rejected votes is nearly perfect in most cases. This mala fide scheme was carried out in Form-47



at the time of preparing the provisional election results, followed by a large-scale reverse-engineering of fabricating Form-45 and Form-46 before publishing the electoral results. Resultantly, huge discrepancies and mess are caused between the national-provincial turnouts, between votes and ballot papers accounts, and between victory margins and rejected votes. PATTAN's audit reveals that overall turnout was far less than (48%) of what was stated by some election observers or media groups. To date, the ECP could not announce disaggregated turnouts and share of each contesting political party in the polled votes.

Overall, as many as 78% or 207 of 265 Form-47s of the National Assembly were found to be incomplete or not prepared diligently according to the requirements of the Elections Act 2017 or the Election Rules.

Our audits uncovered huge differences of 20% to 50% between Gender-Vote-Gap in terms of female turnouts (GVG-T) and the pre-existing Gender-Vote-Gap in terms of registered voters (GVG-R) in 96 National Assembly constituencies. In many constituencies, a large number of gender-disaggregated turnouts at combined polling stations were not provided in the published results. While suppression of female turnout is historical its widespread instrumentalisation for vote-rigging in GE-2024 was exceptional. The female turnout was just zero in 184 polling stations of 70 NAs and PAs constituencies, and in 237 polling stations, only a few women (between 1 and 50) cast their votes, far less than the legal 10% ceiling.

The vote theft was so expansive that Parliament and provincial assemblies were kept incomplete even after one year of GE-2024 by keeping 95 or 42% of the total quota seats of women and non-Muslims for the national, and two provincial assemblies vacant despite the Order by the Full bench of the Supreme Court Order and the Constitutional guarantees of equal representation of provinces in the Senate of Pakistan. As many as 64 new means of rigging were likely to be introduced to achieve 'positive' results for the GE-2024. Depriving voters of their favorite party from an election symbol was unprecedented.

Global Media, the UN, Civil Society and Foreign Governments extensively reported and criticised the conduct of GE-2023 and serious restrictions on freedom, civil liberties and media. In their coverage and highlighted the allegation of massive vote-rigging publicly made by the Commissioner of Rawalpindi. There appeared a consensus amongst the world community that Pakistan's elections were rigged and the electoral watchdog failed to provide a level playing field to all parties.

Based on our thorough audit and analysis of the election results posted on the ECP's website over the last year, we have no hesitation to conclude that most of the election-related data do not reflect the truth and the current rulers lack the legitimate mandate to govern the country. What has been happening in the country since 8th February 2024 including the latest 26th Constitutional Amendments and amendment in the draconian Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) is (a) to sustain the hegemony of the military establishment, and (b) to save the stolen mandate of February 2024. After 1970, the GE-2024 has thrown the country into multi-dimensional crises.

Though it sounds pretentious to suggest reforms, it will be critical to draw lessons for the future. It is now conspicuously evident from the study and observation of the GE-2024 that the majority of political leadership was highly dependent on the military establishment and civil bureaucracy to 'win' seats. This must come to an end for which parties have to strengthen their democratic structures and cadres and



forge consensus to end reliance on undemocratic forces. The role of civil society is crucial to make parties and their leadership accountable for their undemocratic conduct. The country must gradually move to a fully indigenously developed Proportional Representation electoral system as the existing First-Past-The-Post system has miserably failed to ensure just representation of voters and elected governments as well as due to its high vulnerability to manipulations and vote-rigging.

The perpetrator of stealing the people's mandate must not go unpunished. The conduct of the Election Commission warrants an overhaul to institute its autonomy, transparent appointments, non-partisanship and insulation from external interferences, and integration of checks and balances. The nature and magnitude of vote-rigging of election results compel demands to reduce the human involvement in counting and preparation of election results and gradual adoption of digital technologies for voting, filing and compiling election results. We urge all political parties to restore the original section of the Elections Act 2017 to give voting rights to Overseas Pakistanis.



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. From Passive to Brazenly Coercive Rigging: A Journey from 1970 to 2024

There is almost a consensus amongst election experts and election observer groups that except for the first and the only one, every election in Pakistan, whether general or local, was rigged and manipulated, in varying degrees, either in advance or immediately after the polling. The pendulum swung between passive to brazenly coercive rigging and manipulation. If the General Elections 1970 (GE-1970) are on the one side of the pendulum then the GE-2024 would be found on the other. Each time the Election Commission of Pakistan either reluctantly or willingly acted as directed by the military establishment. However, for the General Elections 2024 (GE-2024) the ECP effected the rigging plan enthusiastically and aggressively as well as *earnestly and obediently*. However, very carelessly. No wonder, there is a widespread and well-informed consensus not only inside the country but also globally that the level of rigging and fraud in GE-2024 was of an unprecedented scale, and to such an extent, that it had changed the mandate from one party to the other massively. No wonder, the coalition government that emerged out of this brazen rigging is believed to be a product of fake Form-47. PATTAN had evaluated that roughly [163 means of rigging](#)⁶ were being used in past elections. In the GE-2024 as many as 64 unique methods were added to the list and summarised in Table 1.

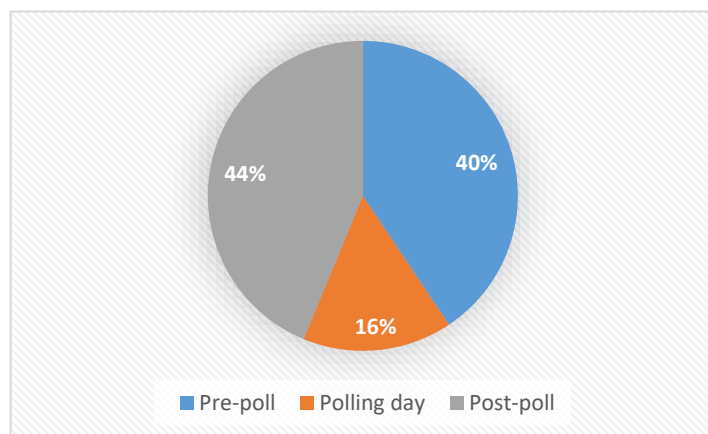
Table 1: Means of election and vote-rigging used in past elections and in GE-2024.

	Inter-election period	Pre-poll	Polling day	Post-poll	Total
Before 2024 polls	26	51	75	11	163
2024 polls	0	26	10	28	64
Total	26	77	85	39	227

Source: Compiled by PATTAN from the ECP website and observation of elections.

Suppose it is true that every election was rigged to an extent that it would have altered the results, which seems to be true. In that case, a very pertinent question arises - why then, do some election observer groups and election experts keep on using the same fake and rigged data without raising any doubts about its authenticity, especially about general and gendered turnouts, and popular vote of various political parties and candidates? Simply because no other source is available. Whatever the reasons, it appears that the repeated use of the rigged statistics by writers rebuilds the ECP's credibility. Sadly, no serious effort

Chart 1: New rigging means used for GE-2024



⁶. [Rigging-list.pdf](#)



was made to rectify the situation. Instead in GE-2024, the ECP, the pliant judges and the establishment crossed almost every *red line* of the Constitution, the Elections Act 2017, the Elections Rules and the ECP's own Guiding Principles/values. It has not only eroded the public trust in and respect for the institutions but also built an unprecedented resistance movement against the military establishment and its beneficiaries. Instead of addressing the people's anger, soon it became clear that the old practice of passive rigging and manipulation was to be armed with coercive and even brutal measures. It turned out to be a vicious cycle. The more the government oppresses the resistance movement, the more the resistance stiffens, and the more tyranny is unleashed. Simply, the most popular parties of Pakistan's history remain the most oppressed parties.

As a result, the country is facing multiple crises – political polarization, economic meltdown, worsening security situation, deepening poverty, perpetually intermittent internet services, and above all the silencing of independent judges, citizen's voices and media. The people of our country had never braved post-election-establishment-induced suffering for so long since 1971. Simply, this has been an unprecedented situation in the country. However, it appears the political field is being socialized after six decades. No wonder, the military elite and its civilian cronies seem to have lost even the modicum of popular support⁷ and are being challenged by the public. The country cannot afford the perpetuity of this situation. Therefore, it is imperative to fully understand the complexity of the situation and find appropriate and adequate solutions.

Our election report is a small step towards that direction. We at PATTAN-Coalition³⁸ are convinced that the General Elections 2024 were rigged holistically, comprehensively, aggressively and brazenly at every step of the electoral process. This report provides heaps of evidence hidden in thousands of files and folders of election results that the ECP had uploaded on its website.

Under Section 95(10) of the Elections Act 2017, the ECP is required to publish the election result forms on its website within 14 days from the date of the poll. But as the saying goes - there is no perfect crime, there cannot be perfect rigging or gerrymandering. For instance, on 3rd July 2024, we issued a press release regarding missing result forms (Form-45s and 46s) from the ECP's website of more than 40 national and provincial constituencies of Punjab. This was a very serious, seemingly intentional negligence. Strangely, the next day the ECP modified the official *Google Drive* files by uploading the so-called missing result forms. On 5th July we issued another press release regarding the tampering of the official files. We also shared screenshots of the modified files with the media. On 8th July *Dawn* reported the same on its front page. The ECP told *Dawn* that it was an '*innocent mistake*' and rejected PATTAN's findings as '*baseless*'. However, the paper noted that "... *independent scrutiny of the officially uploaded data by Dawn revealed that the ECP's claim was incorrect*"⁸ Moreover, the GEO Fact Check also reached the same conclusion – "*PATTAN's report was definitely correct, while the ECP's statement was wrong*"⁹. "جیو فیکٹ چیک کی تحقیق " کے مطابق پٹن کی رپورٹ بالکل درست جبکہ ای سی پی کا بیان غلط ہے۔

⁷. Prime Minister Shehbaz Sharif and his party leaders said so many times that they have sacrificed political capital (*siasi sarmaya*) for the sake of national interest.

⁸. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1844451>

⁹. <https://urdu.geo.tv/latest/371257->



But that was not an isolated case of manipulations. We can say with confidence that election results were changed at every step of the GE-2024.

The purpose of political engineering, gerrymandering, rigging, manipulation and coercion that was used in the run-up to the polling was to achieve a two-thirds majority for the pro-establishment political parties. The plan failed very badly, as it caused a massive reaction against the regime, which also increased the space to resist the rising tyranny. Conscientious media groups, journalists, social media and civil society activists tried to claim the new space and became very vocal, as the regime became more brutal.

After the poll results, the main goal of the military establishment, the ECP and compliant politicians was to save the fake victories. Under the law, the judiciary would play the leading role in deciding election-related petitions and cases, the establishment started using every tool which it had in its playbook to frighten judges. The nation witnessed an unprecedented reaction from some judges of the Islamabad High Court.

Just after 45 days of the polling on 25th March “six judges of the IHC wrote a letter to the Supreme Judicial Council in which they accused the country’s intelligence apparatus of interference in judicial affairs, including attempts to pressure judges through abduction and torture of their relatives and secret surveillance inside their bedrooms.”¹⁰

As the judges’ letter became the headline of most of the newspapers and hot-topic of TV talk shows, it further exposed the ugly face of the regime. It also became obvious that the next target of the regime would be judiciary. The trichotomy (separation) of power is a strategic element of Pakistan’s Constitution to build a healthy democracy. But democracy façade suits the establishment and corrupt politicians as long as it serves their strategic interests. Therefore, it became a necessity for the regime to eliminate the independence of the higher judiciary. The 26th Constitutional Amendments was passed but like the election, it also carries no legitimacy in the eyes of the public. The defiant Senators and MPs were allegedly bribed, some were abducted and even tortured, and their family members were harassed. It indeed exposed the regimes’ weakness. For decades the military establishment has been keeping politicians under its stranglehold by using one set of politicians against the then-unwanted ones. This repeated practice built some form of understanding between the two mainstream parties to let each other complete their tenures in office. In this regard, it is widely believed that the Charter of Democracy (COD) signed by two former Prime Ministers - Ms. Benazir Bhutto



Time Line April 2022

- Three Chief Ministers changed in few days.
- National Assembly is dissolved.
- Imran Khan resigned after allegedly controversial Vote of No-Confidence Motion.
- 135 MNAs of PTI's resigned, while the party expelled 20 dissident MNAs.
- Mian Shehbaz Sharif elected as new PM.
- PTI announced countrywide protest campaign.
- Raja Pervaiz Ashraf of PPP was elected as new NA Speaker.

¹⁰. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1824028>



and Mr. Nawaz Sharif in 2006 had played an important role in ‘strengthening’ democracy in Pakistan. In this regard, a recent paper by Prof. Ayesha Jalal¹¹ appears to argue that the COD played an important role in bringing some political stability to Pakistan. Apparently, it looks true. But the devil lies in the details. Between 2008 and 2013 the largest party- PPP completed its tenure, but not its Prime Ministers. During the PML-N tenure (2013-2018) too, two PMs had to share the tenure. And above all, COD was hardly implemented. Moreover, it appears that during 2008 - 2018, the hegemony of the military establishment did not diminish at all. Rather, its stranglehold further deepened. The successive governments, though fully cooperated and coopted with the security agencies to curb civil society and independent media, failed to rein widespread anger against unnecessary and unlawful interference. For instance, curbs on NGOs during the PML-N government seriously curtailed their independence across the country. The PTI government continued with the anti-NGO policy of the security apparatus after coming to power in 2018.

By the beginning of 2022, the military establishment appeared to have the confidence that it had captured every corner of the country and every civil institution including political parties, special interest associations, bar associations, media houses and even journalists/anchors, etc. But it turned out to be a short-lived affair. By July 2022, the taming of Imran Khan and PTI’s project began to suffer setbacks. For instance, despite massive interference and harassment, PTI managed to win 16 out of 20 by-elections of the Punjab Assembly. On 16th October PTI again had a landslide victory. Khan won eight of ten National Assembly bye-elections by defeating joint candidates of a 14-party coalition government. It was no doubt an unprecedented electoral phenomenon that despite massive rigging, the ruling coalition faced humiliating defeats.

PATTAN-Coalition³⁸ observed the electoral process and conducted an opinion poll before the polling as well as an exit poll. It is worth mentioning here that the official poll results substantiated the trends of our opinion polls¹². That victory appeared to have frightened the military establishment and its allies. No wonder by the beginning of 2023, oppression surged to an unprecedented level.

For decades the military establishment has been interfering in politics. It facilitated opposition parties to form an electoral alliance, like Islami Jamhori Ittihad (IJI) during 1988-1999, distributed funds to IJI leaders, helped them to *win* the election and to form the government, and then sacked the very same parties from power with the help of the once-unwanted opposition who had been defeated through massive rigging only a couple of years before. Yesterday’s unwanted politicians suddenly become the favourite of the military establishment. Going into details of the reasons for this policy is out of the scope of this report. However, it is worth stating here that during the last three and half decades - (a) rigging became a new normal as all major and smaller parties benefitted from this political circus at least twice in a decade; (b) since money and connections



Time Line May 2022

- SC ruled that dissenting lawmaker's vote against their own party couldn't be counted.
- ECP de-seated 20 PTI MPAs & ordered bye-elections.
- Imran Khan announced a long march towards Islamabad.

¹¹. Jalal, Ayesha, “Does Democracy Have a Future in Pakistan?” Journal of Democracy, Vol 35, Number 1, January 2024, John Hopkins University Press.

¹²¹². [PATTAN's opinion poll](#)



with state officials almost always played a major role to contest and win elections, corruption and patronage spread like a wildfire in the 1990s, remember the infamous role of Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) in the formation of IJI in the early 1990s; (c) resultantly, politicians' dependence on the military establishment to win an election or even to contest deepened, and need of membership-based political parties disappeared; and (d), the stranglehold of the military establishment further strengthened. The main pillar of the establishment's strategy was – not to allow the ousted leader to win the forthcoming polls. However, mid-term elections would take place within 90 days. Even that tradition came to an end in 2023.

Perhaps, the purpose has been not to allow political parties to grow. Sadly, almost always the sacked leaders accepted it as a *fait accompli* and waited for the next turn. No sacked leader protested and resisted the humiliation. This created a false feeling of political stability; however, it was nothing but a delusion. Yet, some consider it a sign of political stability.

Not being a traditional politician, Imran Khan, resolutely resisted his sacking and this continues to date. The vicious cycle of the establishment game appears to be under serious stress. And that made him even more popular. That transformed him from a leader to a hero and for some a cult. No one had expected that the PTI would survive the kind of oppression and manipulation of the state organs that the military-led Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) had unleashed. Since then (April 2022) as a result the country has been facing multi-faceted crises and uncertainty.

Most people had thought that the general elections would bring some form of normalcy. But keeping in view the turbulent political history of the country we were almost certain that any large-scale rigging would likely throw the country into chaos. Remember the general elections held in 1970 and 1977.

PATTAN as one of the oldest election observer groups was reluctant to agree with the officially induced narrative – elections would bring stability. Our fear was based on the ongoing manipulation of the whole electoral process, continued harassment of PTI leaders and supporters as well as crackdown on independent journalists, judges etc. The level playing field was blatantly denied to PTI. As stated above 163 means of rigging were used before the polling for GE-2024. Yet, voters managed to frustrate the strategy and tactics of the regime and despite depriving the voters of finding their favourite candidate on the ballot papers, they managed to elect them. The process of manipulation and intrigue, therefore, continues at the time of writing of this report and is likely to continue, unless some miracle happens. Since then, the regime has been trying to put the genie back in the bottle but seems to be failing miserably.

PATTAN's audit of the ECP election record that was available on its official website confirmed not only our fears to be right but also showed that the theft was a hundred times bigger than what we had imagined. s Therefore, we have little reluctance to state that

The rigging for and in the general elections in 2024 cannot be exaggerated.

Time Line June 2022

- LG election in Islamabad postponed once again.
- 1st phase of local government elections held in Sindh



2. THE CONTEXT

To understand the voting patterns and gender-based-electoral discrimination in the country it is imperative to keep in view the socio-economic and cultural perspective of the society and how these factors act as dynamics. For instance, the literacy rate in 2023 was just 59.3% for males, while for the female population, it was as low as 49%. The literacy rate in rural areas is generally very low, while almost half of school-going children were out of school in 2024. On the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report 2024¹³, Pakistan has been ranked 145 out of 146 countries, while in education it ranked at 139th. Moreover, the female labour force participation rate is just 25%. Due to non-compliance with *Sharia* and secular laws of inheritance, less than 5% of women own any property. Moreover, the male-female mobile ownership gap appears to be the highest in Pakistan as 81% and 52% of adult males and females respectively owned mobile phones¹⁴. These are not just statistics; they turn into dynamics which undermine not only the free will of a vast number of voters but also their access to information as well as political participation.

No wonder, by the end of December 2023, at the national level there were 53.87% males, and 46.13% females on the electoral rolls – a massive gap of almost 8% or 9.93 million fewer women than men on the rolls - which was far higher than the male-female ratio in Pakistan.¹⁵ For instance, 49.6% of Pakistan's population was female, and 50.4% male. At the provincial and constituency levels the ratio varied wildly. This huge gap between male and female registration is not a result of some organic factors. It has been due to persistent anti-girls, anti-women policies of successive governments and failure of political leadership. The country turned into a 'sick man' of South Asia. Pick any area or sector of public policy and development, the country stubbornly stands at the bottom of most of the global social indices.

Patronage and reciprocity are the basic pillars of Pakistan's society and politics, which keep on deepening the dependency of the marginalised on the powerful. Elections provide an opportunity for the poor to return the so-called favours of the rich. But, very often it is not that simple. If anyone fails to reciprocate the favours, most likely he would face some form of vengeance from the rich patrons. Marginalised people, as they are not organised, very often do not dare to resist and obediently vote for the patron. This patron-client-power grid (PCPG) exists from the top down and vice versa. The patron at the lowest level turns into a client at the next level. Sitting at the peak of this pyramid is the military establishment.

The First-Past-The-Post electoral (FPTP) model seems to be largely responsible for strengthening the PCPG for keeping democracy fragile in Pakistan. The FPTP electoral system due to its 'single-member constituency' seems to reinforce and deepen existing inequalities and power structures is inherently vulnerable to power abuse. Proverbially, power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely, it makes powerful, more powerful



Time Line July 2022

- PTI won 16 of 20 bye-elections of Punjab Assembly seats.
- PTI calls for protests against rigging in bye-polls.
- Sindh LG Elections 2nd Phase held:
- ECP de-notified 11 MNAs of PTI.

¹³ Global Gender Gap Report 2024, World Economic Forum, https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2024.pdf

¹⁴ . <https://www.gsma.com/r/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/The-Mobile-Gender-Gap-Report-2023.pdf>

¹⁵ . <https://ecp.gov.pk/electoral-database>



and more corrupt as a political power with each election further concentrates it in fewer hands. It also greatly helped wealthy families to turn into political dynasties. No wonder, with some variance, every political party now in the country is merely a conglomeration of few powerful dynasts, their cronies and sycophants. Most mainstream parties do not have even a list of party members. The office bearers are handpicked appointees of someone more powerful than the nominees. This gave birth to the concept of so-called *electables*. As a result, political leaders become dependent on them. This is an effective but extremely undemocratic means to perpetuate the status quo.

To win an election under the FPTP system appears to be easier than the Proportional Representation (PR) system because under FPTP a candidate can lose or win by just one vote, while under the PR system seats are won proportionately to the obtained votes by each party/candidate, while constituencies have multiple members. Therefore, under FPTP incentives for manipulation, fraud and rigging appear to be huge at each stage of the electoral process – not providing a level playing field to all contesting parties. Suppression of votes, gerrymandering, vote-buying, disqualifying un-wanted candidates/parties, polling fraud, malpractice in counting and result tabulation as well as stealing of mandate is likely to be easier under the FPTP.

Moreover, because of the FPTP system, a large percentage of polled votes had almost always been wasted as they did not get any representation. We are taking the ECP's figures with a pinch of salt because bogus ballots have often been polled. In three previous elections the candidates who had lost obtained, in aggregate, more votes (60%) than the returned candidates. Interestingly, only seven candidates received more than 50% of the registered votes in the last three elections, while only 29% of candidates got more than 50% of the polled votes in the three last polls. This means the parliaments were based on a minority vote. And the governments formed out of such a system also had a very narrow support base. For example, in 2013 the ruling party had only 17% of the registered votes, while in 2018 the largest party had just 18% votes. This is especially critical in the context of the Patron-Client Power Grid situation, where the patron had often been more interested in 'serving' only its clients and would very often ignore those areas from where he had lost the election. In short, the ruling parties with such a narrow support base are highly weak and vulnerable to establishment.



Time Line Aug. 2022

ECP announced verdict against PTI in foreign funding case.



3. PARTICIPATORY ELECTION OBSERVATION, AUDIT, AND ANALYSIS

PROGRAMME (PEO AAP).

3.1. Beyond Election Observation

PATTAN Development Organisation has been observing elections since the year 2000. Being a learning and activist civil society organisation we realized that just observation of election was not enough. Therefore, in 2020 we developed a participatory and self-reliant model that would look beyond election observations.

In 2020-21 PATTAN developed the following multi-pronged model to assess the quality and the credibility of forthcoming elections:

- Participatory:** It is worth stating right at the outset that without the permission of the ECP, nobody can observe elections, and in the past, we had experienced unnecessary delays in getting the accreditation cards from the ECP, which seriously damaged our preparation for the conduct of observation. As an old practitioner of Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA) and believer in participatory approaches, we decided to observe elections through the voters – called Participatory Affiliated Voters (PAVs). Member organisations of Coalition 38 registered electorates as PAVs in their areas through an online form and in person. A simple form was developed to record personal experiences and observations of polling through a Digital App. After finishing it, PAVs would interview every 5th voter who came out of the same polling station after casting the vote and then send the same through an online App to the PATTAN digital system. It is worth stating here that all the PAVs performed the task voluntarily.
- Transparent:** To keep the public and key stakeholders informed about the polling situation across the country, PATTAN issued the findings at regular intervals to media or anyone who was interested in finding out about our work.
- Self-reliance:** It was decided that PATTAN would not apply to any traditional donor to fund the election observation programme at all. However, individuals were requested to donate funds for the purpose. PATTAN also allocated its reserved fund for this purpose. Besides, individuals were encouraged and requested to volunteer their time and expertise.
- Reform Oriented:** The main purpose of the whole exercise has been to discover and understand not only the credibility and quality of the conduct of elections but also to find out critical problems in the whole electoral system and its governance to develop a practical way forward for improving the electoral structures and processes as well as to discover the modus operandi that is mainly



Time Line Oct. 2022

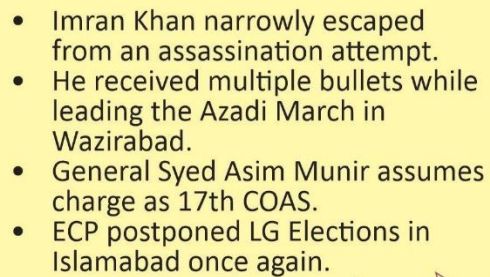
- PTI won 7 of 9 NA and 2 of 3 Punjab Assembly bye-elections.
- ECP disqualified Imran Khan from holding any public office.
- A known independent investigative journalist Arshad Sharif was assassinated in Kenya.



responsible for rigging. Unlike traditional election observation practices in the context of Pakistan, it is highly desirable to those who indulge in rigging and electoral fraud.

The following aspects of an electoral cycle is covered under the Participatory Election Observation, Audit and Analysis Programme (PEOAAP).

- Appointment and conduct of caretaker governments in provinces and the center, Election Commission, and election staff etc.
- Observation and audit of the electoral cycle: population census, voters' registration, delimitation of constituencies, and polling scheme etc.
- Observation of electioneering (provision of a level playing field), canvassing, mobilization of voters etc.
- Observation of polling, counting, result tabulation and dissemination of results.
- Audit and analysis of the result forms issued by ECP, ROs and POs as made available on the ECP website and collected by PAVs.
- Content analysis of media coverage of elections.
- Conduct of opinion and exit polls.

- 
- Imran Khan narrowly escaped from an assassination attempt.
 - He received multiple bullets while leading the Azadi March in Wazirabad.
 - General Syed Asim Munir assumes charge as 17th COAS.
 - ECP postponed LG Elections in Islamabad once again.

Time Line Nov. 2022



4. STRATEGIC GAPS

4.1. Turnout and Popularity of Parties?

Almost a year later, the Election Commission of Pakistan could not publish all the necessary disaggregated statistics of turnout for GE-2024. However, according to some estimates (based on controversial result Forms) the voters' turnout in GE-2024 dropped by 3.9 percentage points to 47.8% since GE-2018, opposite what was promised by the ECP in its Strategic Plan. Some experts appear to blame the insurgency-related violence in two provinces, the uncertain political situation, the crackdown against the largest party and harsh weather in some parts of the country. These factors might have made some impact on turnout negatively, but elements of massive rigging, manipulation, low voters' registration in many districts, violence against PTI candidates, gerrymandering and changes in election result forms can't be ignored. According to a source¹⁶ 128.586 million registered voters cast their votes. But, this figure seems to be based on allegedly fake Form-47s. The same source noted that the share of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf (PTI) in the polled votes was 31.2% (18,46million), while Muslim league-N (PMLN) obtained 23.64% or 13.99 million votes. Audit of election result forms doesn't substantiate these figures too. For instance, the absence of PTI's election symbol is likely to have discouraged many from voting. Some voters would have come out to cast their vote but might have gone back without casting their votes because they could not find their polling stations due to shut down of cellular services and the internet. According to PATTAN's own observation and exit poll, many voters complained that their polling stations were changed without their consent and they were not informed about the changes. Some people also reported that each family member had been transferred to a different polling station and even to a different constituency, though they resided at the same address. These rigging means were mostly found in big cities including Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Rawalpindi and Multan etc.

Moreover, there is enough evidence available on the ECP website that proves beyond any doubt that fake digits or 'votes' were added on most of the result forms. For instance, in Lahore alone according to our estimate between 300,000 and 400,000 fake entries were likely to be made on various result forms. For instance, the result Form 45s issued by Presiding Officers of NA-128 Lahore shows Salman Akram Raja was leading by 92,000 votes, which was reversed on Form-47. Instead, his rival jumped ahead by 14,551 votes. Meaning that he lost the contest by 106,551 votes. PATTAN's audit of NA-130 (widely reported by media in July 2024) also *"revealed huge variance in shared polling stations (SPSs) established for NA-130 and PP -170, PP-173 and PP-174. For instance, on 82 Form-45s, on average the turnout for NA-130 on average was as high as 86%, while in the same polling stations the average turnout for provincial seats was just 41% - a staggering gap of 45%. Similar gap could be seen in 36 other shared polling stations, where turnout was between 90% and 99%, but for provincial seats it was less than 40%. On*



Time Line Nov. Dec. 2022

- Imran Khan narrowly escaped from an assassination attempt.
- He received multiple bullets while leading the Azadi March in Wazirabad.
- General Syed Asim Munir assumes charge as 17th COAS.
- ECP postponed LG Elections in Islamabad once again.

¹⁶. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024_Pakistani_general_election



three Form-45s the turnout for NA touched unbelievable degree 100% or more, while for provincial assembly it was less than 50%. Overall, on 69 Form-45s of NA-130 the turnout was between 70% and plus 100%, Out of 69 on 60 polling stations turnout was between 80% and 99% - a rare phenomenon. Tables 2 and 3 provide the national-provincial turnout variations in selected regions and constituencies of Pakistan as recorded in Form-47.

Table 2: Turnout variance between NA and PA constituencies in selected regions as recorded on Form-47 *

Districts	Total votes polled for NAs	Total votes polled for PAs	Difference	Percentage
Lahore-130	319,043	240,918	78,125	12.84%
Attock	748,494	730,582	17,912	2.39%
Faisalabad	2,707,034	2,708,960	1,926	.07%
Lahore	3,018,565	2,863,755	154,810	5%
Multan	1,527,913	1,531,362	3,449	0.2%
Bahawalnagar	1,069,606	1,071,789	2183	0.2%
Karachi (Keamari)	361,343	322,393	38,950	11%

Table 3: Difference between the turnouts of the selected NA and PA constituencies according to Form-47*

Constituency	National turnouts	Provincial constituencies turnouts					Difference between NA and PA votes at the shared polling stations ^a
NA-128	56.26%	PP-156	PP-161	PP-169	PP-170	PP-171	78,644
		40.30%	39.39%	58.52%	40.15%	39.05%	
NA-28	62.06%	PK-72	PK-73	PK-74	PK-80	PK-81	79,481
		37.13%	39.61%	62.20%	36.19%	35.31%	
NA-242	43.71%	PS-111	PS-112	PS-113	PS-114		34,834
		42.99%	32.14%	38.42%	30.52%		
NA-248	44.36%	PS-123	PS-124	PS-125	PS-126		-27,204
		33.46%	42.81%	63.35%	41.78%		
NA-130	52.45%	PP-170	PP-173	PP-174			70,035
		40.15%	40.69%	38.24%			
NA-265	40.90%	PB-47	PB-48	PB-49			-10,026
		51.64%	43.04%	38.00%			

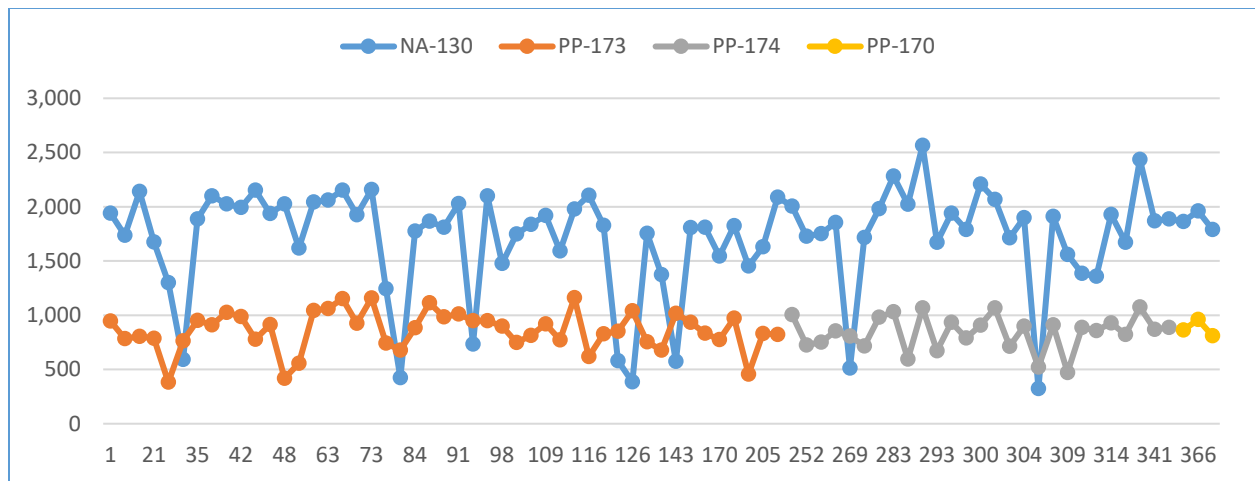
Source: The ECP website., a: compiled by PATTAN

* Only selected constituencies' NA-PA turnouts are compared which is a key indicator to detect vote-rigging. Extensively fragmented delimitation of NA and PA constituencies by the ECP made such comparison highly difficult and time-consuming for the audits and to be included in Volume-I.



To further elaborate on the turnout difference, Chart-2, as an example, depicts the NA-PA turnout trends at the shared polling stations of NA-130 Lahore –XIV from where Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the former three-time Prime Minister of Pakistan, was declared as the returned candidate.

Chart 2: Variance in polled votes of shared polling stations of NA-130 and PP-173, PP-174 and PP-170 constituencies.



Sources: ECP website. Compiled by PATTAN

Similar trends could be found in many constituencies of Punjab, Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta etc. It appears millions of fake entries were made on result forms which not only turned losers into winners, but also pushed the turnout upward. Therefore, neither the turnout nor the popularity of parties which have been calculated based on officially published election results by the ECP necessarily reflect the truth. PATTAN will present a detailed analysis regarding turnout in Volume-II.

4.2. Incomplete Parliament (Denying Representation to Women and Minorities Representation)

One year on, both the Houses of the Parliament (the Senate and the National Assembly) as well as the provincial assemblies of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) remained incomplete. Not because of some genuine reasons but due to narrow political interests. The Election Commission had denied PTI its share in reserved quota seats and did not hold the election to fill the vacant seats of the Senate because that would have increased the numerical strength of PTI in the Parliament as well as in KP and Punjab assemblies. Some facts would suffice to gauge the scale of manipulation and discriminatory behaviour of the ECP.

Tables 4,5,6 and 7 show vacant reserved seats of women for the last one year. Despite the clear orders of the Supreme Court¹⁷ as many as 61 of 188 (or 33%) of total reserved seats of women had been kept vacant in national and provincial assemblies by the Election Commission. In KP's provincial assembly (PA) 77% (or

¹⁷. [Order of the Supreme Court](#)



17/22) of the quota seats, and for NA 80% (or 8/10) of seats remained vacant. In Punjab 35% or 11 out of 32 of its women's quota seats were vacant. Moreover, the Senate is also incomplete and imbalanced to date. For instance, the Constitution guarantees every province equal representation e.g. 23 members in the Senate. This is perhaps the first time in the history of Pakistan that a province has been denied its full share in the Senate for so long. Currently, KP just has 12, while the other three provinces have 23 Senators each.

Table 4: Province Wise Women's Vacant Seats in National Assembly as of January 2025.

Region	Total Seats	Vacant Seats	
		Numbers	Percentage
Islamabad	0	0	0
Punjab	32	11	35%
KP	10	8	80%
Sindh	14	0	0
Balochistan	04	0	0
Total	60	19	32%

Source: Compiled by PATTAN from the data sets of the websites of assemblies, the Senate and the ECP.

Table 5: Women's Vacant Seats in Provincial Assemblies as of January 2025.

Provincial Assembly	Total Seats	Vacant Seats	
		Numbers	Percentage
Punjab	66	24	37%
KP	22	17	77%
Sindh	29	1	3.4%
Balochistan	11	0	0
Total	128	42	33%

Source: Websites of Assemblies, the Senate and the ECP.

Table 6: Overall Reserved & Vacant Seats in National & Provincial Assemblies as of January 2025

Assembly	Women seats	Non-Muslims seats	Total seats	Allocated seats	Vacant Seats
NA	60	10	70	38	32 (46.0%)
PAs	128	24	152	93	63 (40.4%)
Total	188	34	222	131	95 (42%)

Source: Websites of Assemblies, the Senate and the ECP.



Table 7: Category-wise Vacant Seats in the Senate as of January 2025.

Region	General Seats	Technocrats / Ulema Seats	Women Seats	Non-Muslim Seats	Vacant seats
Sindh	0/14	0/4	0/4	0/1	0/23
Punjab	0/14	0/4	0/4	0/1	0/23
Balochistan	0/14	0/4	0/4	0/1	0/23
KP	7/14	2/4	2/4	0/1	11/23
Federal Capital	0/2	0/1	0/1	--	0/4
TOTAL Vacant	7 of 58	2	2	0	11 of 96

Under Article 91(2) of the Constitution ‘The National Assembly shall meet on the twenty-first day following the day on which a general election to the Assembly was held, unless sooner summoned by the President.’ Therefore, it was incumbent upon the ECP to distribute all the quota seats to political parties according to the law and orders of the Supreme Court within 21 days. Moreover, Article 91(4) ensures that ‘The Prime Minister is elected by the votes of the majority of the total membership of the National Assembly’. The ECP failed the nation.

If the KP assembly had been allowed to elect all its Senators freely and fairly, PTI – an unwanted party would have won most of the Senate seats. Resultantly, PTI might have become the majority party. Similarly, if all the quota seats of women and non-Muslims for each assembly had been distributed according to the Constitution, the position of PTI would have been further enhanced numerically in KP and Punjab assemblies as well as in the National Assembly, which could pave the way to end the incumbent military-led coalition government.

Therefore, the denial of quota not only deprived women, and non-Muslims of their rightful share in legislative bodies, but it was also a theft of a mandate. This unprecedented denial continues at the local level too. Consider this. On 12th July 2024, the Supreme Court ruled that PTI was unlawfully deprived of at least 20 seats in the National Assembly. Yet, by the end of January 2025, the ECP didn’t fill the vacant seats.

4.3. Gender-Vote-Gap and Rigging

Gender-Vote-Gap is a difference between registered male and female voters at the local and constituency level. We can call it GVG-R, and GVG in polled votes is a difference between male turnout and female turnout. Let’s call it GVG-T. We assume that in areas where ecology and demography are similar, the difference between GVG-R and GVG-T should be close, as the two should be similar. The larger the void between the two, the higher the likelihood of some manipulation.



Time Line Jan. 2023

- 17th [Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was dissolved soon after Ch. Pervaiz Elahi of PTI becomes CM of Punjab.](#)
- 2nd phase of LG elections held in Sindh.
- The NA Speaker accepted the resignations of 35 PTI MNAs.
- 11th [Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa dissolved.](#)
- [Caretaker Chief Minister of KP appointed.](#)
- Mohsin Naqvi sworn in as the caretaker CM of Punjab.



Dr. Mona Morgan-Collins scholar at Kings College, London, observed that “Approximately ten million fewer women voted in the Pakistan general election held in February, compared with the previous election in 2018. Despite an increase in the number of registered women that exceeded the increase in men’s registration, women’s turnout lagged by men’s turnout by 9 percentage points.”¹⁸ Dr. Collins argues that this happens primarily due to structural barriers to women. No doubt. But not entirely. Our audit shows that in many constituencies fake votes (just digits) were being added/changed on Form-45s of male polling stations

For instance, in some constituencies, the gap between the two appears to be extremely alarming. Therefore, it is imperative to share it with the public and stakeholders for further investigation and improvement. According to the ECP’s website by December 2023, at the national level, the Gender Vote Gap in total registered voters was 7.78% as 53.87% and 46.13% of voters were men and women respectively, as provided in Table 8. Across different provinces, it varied by one or two per cent. However, the GVG remained in favour of men in every corner of each province. Pleasantly, in a few constituencies, the GVG-R was less than 2%. Potohar region e.g. Rawalpindi, Chakwal, Jehlum and Talagang seem to have the narrowest gap. Thanks to the relatively high female literacy rate in the region. But strangely in Talagang NA-59 where the GVG-R was just 1.7%, the GVG-T surged as high as 37.8%. Interestingly, the neighbouring constituencies having similar ecology and demography didn’t experience such a high surge in GVG-T. Naturally, this would sound extremely peculiar. Hence suspicious. In this constituency either a lots of fake votes were added on the Form 45s at male polling stations, or female voters were intentionally barred from voting, or their votes were wasted. A similar trend, however, was found in Lahore too.

- [17th Provincial Assembly of the Punjab was dissolved soon after Ch. Pervaiz Elahi of PTI becomes CM of Punjab.](#)
- 2nd phase of LG elections held in Sindh. The NA Speaker accepted the resignations of 35 PTI MNAs. [11th Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa dissolved.](#)
- [Caretaker Chief Minister of KP appointed.](#)
- Mohsin Naqvi sworn in as the caretaker CM of Punjan.

Time Line Jan. 2023

Table 8: Province Wise Voter Statistics (as on 13-12-2023):

Province	Male		Female		Total
ICT	568,406	52.48%	514,623	47.52%	1,083,029
Balochistan	3,016,164	56.15%	2,355,783	43.85%	5,371,947
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	11,944,397	54.47%	9,983,722	45.53%	21,928,119
Punjab	39,122,082	53.44%	34,085,814	46.56%	73,207,896
Sindh	14,612,655	54.13%	12,382,114	45.87%	26,994,769
Grand Total	69,263,704	53.87%	59,322,056	46.13%	128,585,760

Source: ECP Website.

¹⁸ <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/looking-back-at-2024-election-in-pakistan-what-kept-women-voters-away>



Lahore is perhaps one of the most advanced cities of the Punjab. Therefore, one would expect a high registration of women as voters, but it didn't. On average Lahore had about 8% fewer women voters than their male counterparts, which is far lower than the Potohar region. But, GVG in polled votes, i.e. female turnout shows a massive surge. Intriguingly in most constituencies, GVG-T was more than 23% or close to 25%. Table 9 shows that there were at least 49 constituencies across the country where GVG-T was between 30% and 50+%, while in 48 constituencies it was 20% and 29%. Table 9 shows that the share of Punjab is the largest as this problem is found in 115 National Assembly constituencies. Lahore owns almost half of the burden where GVG-T was between 20% and 30%. Why did this peculiarity happen in certain areas, where it might not have taken place in previous elections? As stated above if one keeps in view the level of rigging that had taken place in most constituencies of Lahore and Talagang during the GE-2024 then it could be argued that multiple means of rigging were being used to make sure that 'positive' results were achieved for favourite candidates. However, the scale of rigging through suppression of female voters or by tampering with result forms is exceptionally widespread as it existed in more than two-thirds of National Assembly constituencies. In KP as many as 30 of 45 NA constituencies suffered from exceptionally low female turnout. Though this phenomenon has been there for decades, it cannot be used as an excuse to justify its persistence. Rather, it must have been addressed more vigorously. It appears from electoral history that in GE-2024 suppression of female turnout was used as a rigging tool as a result its scale appears to be exceptionally large. It deserves a comprehensive investigation.



Time Line Feb 2023

- PECP announced holding of 31 bye-election for NA vacant seats & after 20 days revoked its orders.
- PTI launched Jail Bharro TehreekECP de-notified Imran Khan's victory from seats he had just won.
- PTI launched Jail Bharro TehreekECP de-notified Imran Khan's victory from seats he had just won.

Table 9: Gender-Vote-Gap in (turnout) Polled Votes NA Constituencies GE-2024

GVG-T %	Numbers of National Constituencies					TOTAL
	KPK	ISLAMABAD	PUNJAB	SINDH	BALUCHISTAN	
50.1% & above	6	0	0	0	0	6
40.1% to 50%	3	0	1	19	1	24
30.1% to 40%	11	0	1	4	3	19
20.1% to 30%	11	0	16	16	4	47
11% to 20%	9	1	87	21	6	124
TOTAL	40	1	105	60	14	220

Source: Compiled by PATTAN from ECP data sets



Table 10: Gender-Vote-Gap in Registered & Polled Votes for National Assembly Constituencies GE-2024.

RANGE IN GAP	KPK		PUNJAB		SINDH		BALOCHISTAN		TOTAL	
	RV	TO	RV	TO	RV	TO	RV	TO	RV	TO
0% - 5%	2	0	25	0	4	0	0	0	31	0
5.1% - 11%	34	0	113	0	47	0	8	0	202	0
11.1% - 20%	7	9	1	87	10	21	7	6	25	123
20.1% - 30%	0	11	0	16	0	16	1	4	1	47
30.1% - 40%	0	11	0	1	0	4	0	3	0	19
40.1% - 50%	0	3	0	1	0	19	0	1	0	24
PLUS 50%	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
TOTAL	43	40	139	105	61	60	16	14	259	219

RV (gender gap in registered votes). TO (Gender gap in turnout)

Table 11: Province wise NA constituencies having gender-vote-gap in turnouts GE-2024

GAP%	KPK	ICT	PUNJAB	SNDH
Plus 50%	NA3, NA4, NA11, NA13, NA27, NA42	0	0	0
40.1% to 50%	NA10, NA26, NA30	0	NA186	NA190, NA192-195, NA198-199, NA 201-205, NA207, NA210-216
30.1% to 40%	NA 2, NA6, NA20, NA24-25, NA29, NA31-32, NA 36, NA39-40	0	NA59	NA200, NA236, NA242, NA245
20.1% to 30%	NA5, NA 7, NA 9, NA21, NA23, NA28, NA33-35, NA43, NA45		NA78, NA, 80, NA103, NA113-114, NA117-121, NA123-125, NA130-132)	NA219-220, NA223-225, NA230-231, NA233-234, NA237, NA239-240, NA243-244, NA246-247



The Elections Act 2017, Section 9 instructs the ECP to make sure that women are not denied access to voting. It says, *“If the turnout of women voters is less than ten percent of the total votes polled in a constituency, the Commission may presume that the women voters have been restrained through an agreement from casting their votes and may declare, polling at one or more polling stations or election in the whole constituency, void.”*

The audit of Form 48s available on the ECP website revealed that at 184 polling stations of 70 NA and PA constituencies women’s turnout was just zero and in 237 polling stations only a few women (between 1 and 50), which is far less than the legal 10% ceiling. See Table 12. It is worth noting here that in Buner NA-10 and its associated provincial constituencies, not a single female had cast her vote in 84 or 28% of the total polling stations and its three provincial constituencies. Sadly, the ECP did not take any action and announced the results and notified the victory of the returned candidate. In response to PATTAN’s press release on this serious failure, Dawn newspaper wrote an editorial.

“The ECP’s recent pledge to eliminate the gender gap among voters falls flat in the face of troubling revelations about women’s participation in the general elections.

According to Pattan-Coalition 38, the turnout of women in multiple polling stations across KP, particularly in Buner, was zero on polling day. The Commission’s defence that Section 9(1) of the Elections Act — which has to do with declaring a poll void in case of lower than 10% turnout — is discretionary rather than mandatory shows a reluctance to tackle deep-rooted electoral discrimination.¹⁹”



Time Line March 2023

- Supreme Court ordered ECP to hold general election for Provincial Assembly of KPK.
- ECP issued program to hold general election for Punjab Assembly.
- ECP suspended bye-election for 3 NA seats of Islamabad.
- ECP suspended bye-election for 24 NA seats of KPK.
- ECP suspended bye-election for 9 NA vacant seats of Karachi.
- Pakistani court strikes down sedition law for free speech.

Table 12: Province wise women polling stations having zero and up to 50 polled votes in GE2024.

Province	Number of Constituencies	PS having zero polled votes	PS having 1-50 polled votes	Total
Punjab	17	20	27	47
KPK	28	129	127	256
Balochistan	13	30	72	102
Sindh	12	5	11	16
Total	70	184	237	421

The ECP’s brazen negligence to ensure women’s lawful representation and their right to elect representatives shows ‘ECP’s [poor] *commitment to enforcing electoral laws designed to protect women’s voting rights.*” As a result of that failure not only was women’s representation diminished in the country’s

¹⁹. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1881130/betraying-women-voters>



governance but also caused serious imbalance amongst the federating units - guaranteed under the Constitution, as well as the largest party was denied its share in elected assemblies and the Senate.

Hence, it goes against the very spirit as well as directions of the Constitution²⁰. This is also a clear violation of Goal-5 (gender equality) of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as well as of GSP Plus. Hence, it could be argued that every legislation that has been passed since then, not only lacks legitimacy but it has also threatened the very basis of the social contract. But, intriguingly civil society organisations, women groups, rights activists as well as donor agencies including UN-Women and National Commission on the Status of Women etc. who had struggled so hard to have reserved quota for women and minorities, did not launch any campaign against this ruthless injustice during the last one year. We hope this very crucial issue will once again hit the passion of the stakeholders in coming days.

4.4. Justice Delayed is Justice Denied

Every step of the electoral cycle is time-bound and rule-based. The Elections Act 2017 ensures that the decisions on election petitions are declared within 180 days of their filing. DAWN newspaper reported on 6th January that *'only 27% of poll petitions have been decided since 2024's controversial general elections.'*

It pointed out that 'these delays have taken place due to legal dispute between the ECP and Lahore High Court.' But that is just a symptom of the establishment's grand strategy - to keep PTI out of power. Read this delay along with the above-mentioned delays. And you will realize the scale of rigging. Therefore, not completing all the assemblies as directed by the Constitution and not allowing the transfer of power to the majority parties as stipulated in the law appears to be a result of a strategy based on FOUR Ds - DENY-by-DELAY, if that does not work then DETAIN and DESTROY. This explains the tale of GE-2024.



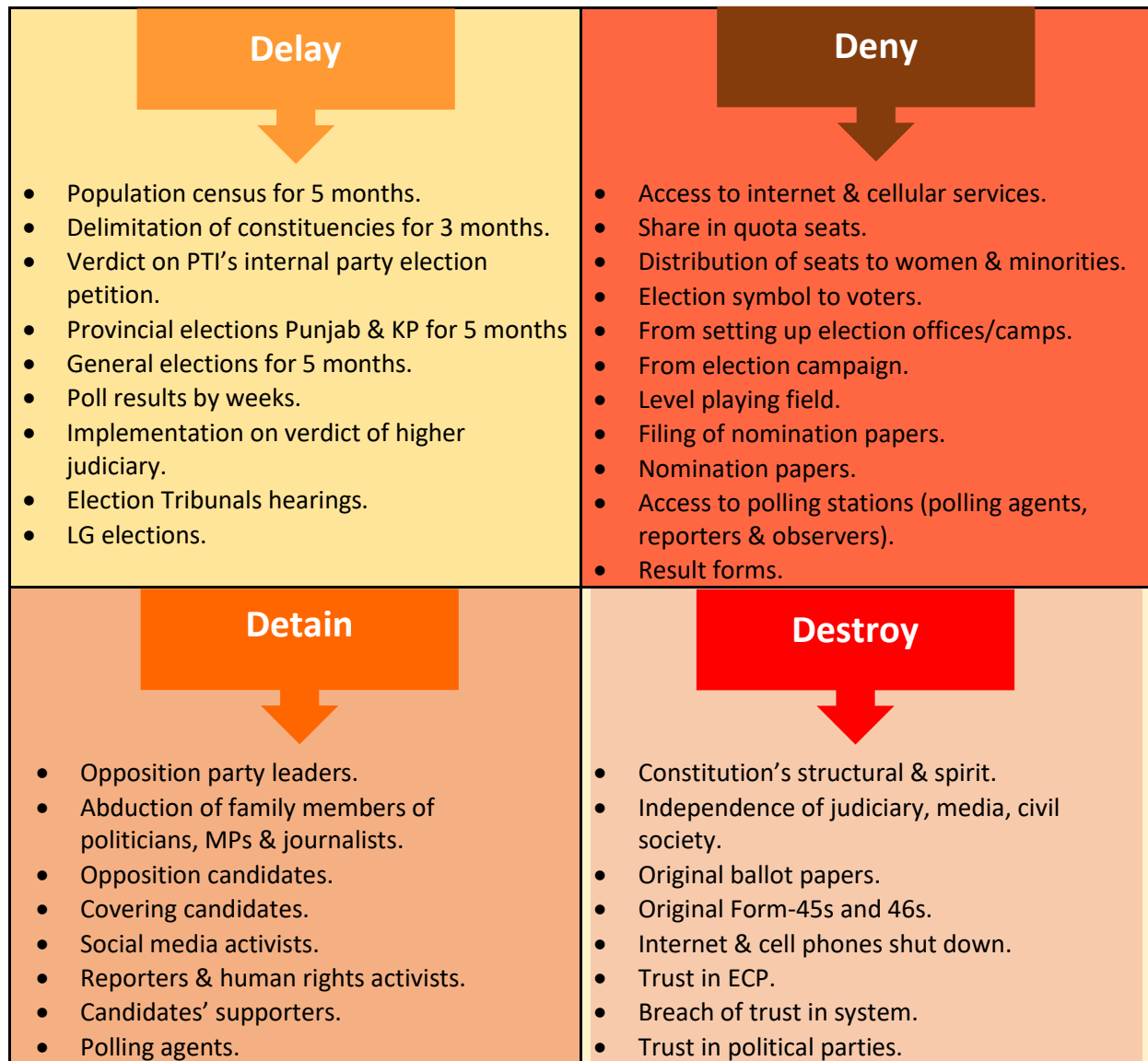
Time Line May 2023

- Imran Khan was arrested from the IHC premise without court order, which caused massive riots across the country.
- A well known and popular critic of govt.
- Imran Riaz Khan was abducted by unknown people.
- JUIF held demo against SC judges.

²⁰. Article 51 to 60 of the Constitution of Pakistan



Chart 3: Four Strategic Ds



4.5. Delaying Provincial Elections 2023

Article 224 (2) of Pakistan's Constitution categorically orders the ECP to hold general elections within 60 days if an assembly completes its tenure. However, in case the assembly is dissolved even one day before completing its tenure, the elections then must be held within 90 days of the date of dissolution of the assembly, and election results must be declared in a maximum of 14 days after the polling. Remember, in mid-January 2023, two provincial assemblies (Punjab and KP) were dissolved. Unlike in the past, the ECP refused to announce the date for the polling, despite repeated demands of civil society. By April Pakistan's Supreme Court also ruled that elections for the provincial assemblies in the two provinces must be held within 90 days. Despite a very categorical order, the ECP did not announce the date. Crisis deepened.



On November 22, 2023, a Justice of the Supreme Court underscored the importance and urgency of holding elections and warned that *'even a one-day delay is a serious violation of the Constitution' as it is equivalent to 'suspending the Constitution, and to undermines the Article 2 of the Constitution.'* The military establishment and its civilian partners seemed determined not to implement any constitutional article that would benefit their opponent. According to the Constitution elections in both provinces should have taken place in April 2023. They were not held even in June or July. The regime was determined not to hold any election – national or provincial unless arrangements were complete to achieve 'positive results'. Simply, in their view holding provincial elections before the national assembly election would have given an edge to PTI. Self-interest bulldozed every ethical norm and fair play. The deny-by-delaying policy continued at each step leading up to general elections and beyond. Consider the following.

4.6. Delaying Completion of Population Census

Under the Constitution of Pakistan population census is to be held every 10 years. Interestingly, the 6th population census was held after a prolonged gap of 19 years in 2017. Isn't it intriguing then to hold another (7th) population census just after five years in 2023? Perhaps that is the most effective example of political expediency. The new census was to cost nearly PKR 18.5 billion, at a time when the country was starving for funds. To many, it was an excuse to delay the elections. Besides that, the way the whole exercise was conducted also raised serious doubts at the time. Soon, the doubts turned true. Some experts questioned its quality as well as pointed at the politicization of the whole process. Moreover, its completion took unprecedented delays. For instance, the census according to the officially announced schedule was to be completed in 32 days between 1st March and 1st April. But later, its completion date was extended for two months till May 30. It is also noteworthy that it was the first ever census which was held digitally. Therefore, it must have taken less time. Intriguingly, its tabulation had also taken more time than the gigantic field exercise. Finally, after almost four and half months on July 19, the preliminary results were made public.

Now let's examine the population census exercise from the technical point of view. Enumeration is a highly scientific exercise and any disruption in its conduct can seriously undermine its robustness and can not only cause serious discrepancies across regions but also disputes. No wonder nowhere in the world enumeration for census takes five months. According to the UN *"Handbook on the Management of Population and Housing Censuses, Revision 2 (2021)"* in many countries including Turkey census is completed in just one day. Here in Pakistan, it was halted many times, and due to political expediency in some areas, it was even conducted twice.

The conduct and quality of the census 2023 most likely will also fail even on a simple social audit and scrutiny. For instance, in May, the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) announced that the country's total population was 249.5 million. By August it informed the nation that the population had declined by 8.07 million to 241.49 million which was approved by the Council of Common Interests (CCI) on August 05, just three days before the end of the tenure of the National and two provincial assemblies.

Moreover, despite differentiated population growth rates in Punjab and Sindh, the share of population has not changed between the two censuses at all, while in the past as well as between the provisional



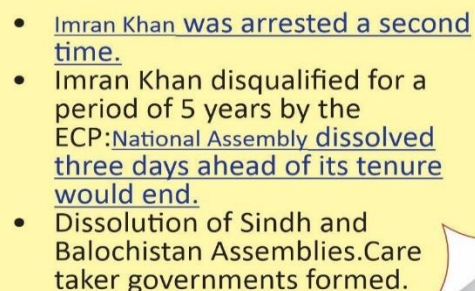
results of PBS 2023 announced in May and the CCI's approved results announced in August the share of various provinces had been changed.

For instance, the share of Punjab and Sindh in the total population was kept the same between the two censuses - 52.9% and 23% respectively. Intriguingly in May PBS officially announced a 49.9% (a decline of 3% since 2017) share of Punjab in the total population. A legitimate question then arises - why share of all regions for the 2023 census was equalized to the 2017's census? As said above, simply because seats of assemblies had to be divided amongst provinces in accordance with the proportion of the population of each province, and this would need a constitutional amendment and in the absence of National Assembly, it was not possible. Hence, political expediency prevailed.

If the final results had been announced in May, parliament would have reallocated the National Assembly seats to provinces in accordance with their share in total population, and delimitation and general elections would have been held by August. But behind this delay, there was a purpose. Soon, the fear of gerrymandering proved right. Interestingly, while National Assembly was dissolved on August 09, just three days before its term would have ended naturally. The ECP was duty-bound to announce the election dates as stipulated in Section 57(1) of the Elections Act 2017. Instead, the ECP used Section 17(2) of the same act, which states – the ECP to conduct 'delimitation of constituencies after every officially published census.

4.7. Delaying Election Results

It is worth stating here that under the law²¹ Presiding Officers (POs) are duty-bound to announce provisional results (of polling stations) by '2 a.m. the day immediately following the polling day' while Returning Officers must 'send the complete provisional results as soon as compiled but not later than 10 a.m. the following day'. Mysteriously, not a single Returning Officer (RO) sent Form 47 (provisional consolidated result) to the ECP by 2 a.m. or 10 a.m.

- 
- Time Line Aug. 2023**
- [Imran Khan was arrested a second time.](#)
 - Imran Khan disqualified for a period of 5 years by the ECP: [National Assembly dissolved three days ahead of its tenure would end.](#)
 - Dissolution of Sindh and Balochistan Assemblies. Care taker governments formed.

The ECP had announced repeatedly that it had developed its own Election Result Management System (RMS), and that it would not be dependent on the Internet, but then blamed the absence of the Internet for its failure to announce provisional results of more than two-thirds of constituencies. In fact, it was the Caretaker government which had shut down the mobile and internet services. On February 10, *Dawn* - a leading English daily reported the delay was an 'unprecedented' phenomenon. However, by midnight most of the POs had already issued Form-45s to the polling agents of candidates. PATTAN has tabulated in Tables 13, 14 and 15 the number of election results forms are made public on the ECP website and notified in the Gazette.

²¹. [The Elections Rules 2017, Section 84\(4\).](#)



Table 13: Delays in posting on the ECP website the provisional consolidated statement of results of the count of the constituency in Form-47^a

Legal date of 09 February 2024, 10:00 am	Number of Form 47
The number of Form-47 published on the ECP website latest by the legal date and time (Latest by 09 February 2024)	0
The number of Form-47 published on the ECP website exceeded the legal date and time (After 09 February 2024)	860
Total	860

Source: ECP website

a Section 92 of the Election Act 2017, Section 85 of the Election Rules, 2017

Table 14: Delays in posting to the ECP website, the final consolidated results in Form-49 and other election results Form- 45,46,48.^b

Legal date of 22 February 2024 (within fourteen days from the date of the poll	Numbers of Forms -45,46,48, 49*
The number of forms published on the website latest by the legal date	0
The number of forms published on the ECP website exceeded the legal date)	2,799

Source: ECP website

b Section 95 of the Election Act 2017, Section 88 of the Election Rules, 2017

*Forms of Punjab and Sindh national and provincial constituencies only

Table 15: Delays in the publication of the name of the returned candidate in the official Gazette

Legal date of 22 February 2024 (within fourteen days from the date of the poll	Official Gazette Notification of Returned Candidates
The number of Gazette notifications latest by the legal date	831
The number of Gazette notifications exceeding the legal date	14
Total	845

c Section 98 of the Election Act 2017, Section 88 of the Election Rules, 2017

4.8. Voters' Registration as Part of the Gerrymandering

By mid-August 2023 the Election Commission announced the updated voters' lists and promised to complete the delimitation process within four months, implying that the polls would not be held within the stipulated 90-day period, which was equivalent to defying the orders of the Supreme Court. In other words, a clause of the Elections Act would suppress an Article of the Constitution. Consider the statement of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) "The primary constitutional responsibility of the ECP is to ensure genuine representation in the voters' lists." At the time Caretaker governments had just been set up. It is highly important to note here why the ECP kept delaying the completion of the census. Because



handpicked federal and provincial administrations would implement orders of the military establishment blindly. What happened in the coming months is what was already been feared by most.

Let's now analyse briefly the effects of the new census on voters' registration. The population of Pakistan in August 2023 according to the 7th Census was 241.5 million. By December 2023 the Election Commission (ECP) had registered 128.58 million or 53% of the population as voters. According to PBS website about 58% or 140.08 million of Pakistan's population was likely to be 18 plus years old at the time. Thus, for general elections 2024 roughly 5% or 11.50 million eligible persons were likely to be disenfranchised. And a large majority of them happened to be women. For instance, out of 11.50 million unregistered persons 9.94 million were women, and 1.56 million were men. Overall, at the national level men's share on electoral rolls was 53.87% and women's 46.13 – a gap of 7.74%, which is also much higher than the male-female ratio in population.

This massive gap happened because ECP and NADRA could not register all the eligible persons as voters in 102 of 134 districts of the country, while in 17 districts more than the eligible persons appeared to have been registered as voters. Province-wise analysis shows that in Baluchistan about one-third eligible population was excluded from 31 districts. In Punjab too, where excellent road networks existed low registration was discovered in half of its 40 districts, while in 12 districts it had over or exceptionally over-registration. Interestingly, analysis of the ECP's voters' data of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province also reveals that in 21 of 35 districts, a significant percentage of eligible people had been disenfranchised. In five of its districts, registration was found to be low or very low, while in five districts registration was exceptionally high. Sindh appears to be the only province, where over-registration did not appear to have taken place. However, under-registration could be seen in 24 districts.

Overall, at the national level, 27 NA constituencies had between 20%-40% population as voters, while 46 constituencies had between 60%-80% population as registered voters.

Our audit also discovered wild variance in registered voters at district and constituency levels. For instance, 78% and 75% population of Muree and Jhelum respectively were registered as voters. That seems to be highly problematic as 75% or 78% population can't be 18 years old or above. Therefore, we have the right to suspect the presence of ghost voters in extremely high registration constituencies/districts. In other words, on average about 18% extra (dubious) votes existed in these two districts. In Kohistan, the registration was as low as just 18%. Moreover, in eight districts of Balochistan i.e. Kech, Panjgur, Surab, Shirani, Washuk, Khuzdar, Kohlu etc. only about 25% population was registered as voters. In other words, about 33% of eligible people in these districts were likely to be excluded from the electoral roll. Moreover, the registration of voters in adjacent areas with similar socio-economic geography varies hugely. For instance, Kohistan NA-12 has only 19% of its population as voters, while the neighbouring constituency of Batagram NA-13 has 59% of its population as voters (Table 16).



Time Line Nov. 2023

- SC directed the ECP to announce poll date for general elections.
- ECP & President Alvi agreed to hold general elections on Feb 8, 2024.
- Final delimitation of constituencies published.



Table 16: Showing some of the constituencies having exceptionally lowest registration of voters as of 2023.

Constituencies with lowest voter registration					
Constituency Name and Number	Population 2023	Registered Voters 2023 and %	% of Registered Voters 2023	Difference	Population Density (district-wise)
NA-12 Kohistan Upper-cum-Kohistan Lower-cum-Kolai Palas Kohistan	1,043,126	196,125	19	847,001	807
NA-235 Karachi East	1,024,024	170,176	17	853,848	28,214
NA-264 Quetta-II	973,656	196,762	20	776,894	753
NA-258 Panjgor-cum-Keck	936,284	225,058	24	711,226	77
NA-262 Quetta-I	799,866	239,192	30	560,674	753
NA-265 Pishin-cum-Ziarat	1,025,017	315,401	31	709,616	191

Source: Compiled from the ECP website datasets.

Table 17: Showing some of the constituencies having exceptionally high registration of voters as of 2023.

Constituencies with highest voter registration					
Constituency Name and Number	Population 2023	Registered Voters 2023 and %	% of Registered Voters 2023	Difference	Population Density (district-wise)
NA-16 Abbotabad-I	699,311	554,426	79	144,885	721
NA-40 North Wziristan	493,332	430,484	87	62,848	147
NA-60 Jhelum-I	691,625	538,897	78	152,728	385
NA-61 Jhelum-II	690,683	517,583	75	173,100	
NA-67 Hfizabad	963,865	810,723	84	153,142	558
NA-13 Battagram	554,133	328,902	59	225,231	426

Source: Compiled from the ECP website datasets.

4.8 Brazen Gerrymandering - Delimitation of Constituencies

On 30th November the ECP published the final list of constituencies of national and provincial assemblies. PATTAN's audit revealed massive discrepancies across the country, and the reason was that the ECP did not follow the law. Gerrymandering of an unprecedented



Time Line Dec. 2023

- Barrister Gohar elected as PTI's new chairman.
- [ECP removes Imran Khan from party leaders list.](#)



scale was evident as multiple petitions were filed against delimitation from almost every constituency. Article 51(5) of the Constitution determines the formula for allocation of representation to federating units. *“The seats in the National Assembly shall be allocated to each province and the Federal Capital on the basis of population in accordance with the last preceding census officially published.”*

Remember, the population is also a determining factor in distributing funds for development to MPs. Money and representation therefore play crucial roles in keeping hierarchies intact through perpetual patronage. In this context (as mentioned elsewhere in this report) the delimitation committees instead of following the law might have been pressured to satisfy the needs of the more favoured political parties/candidates.

PATTAN’s audit found strange patterns in many areas, which clearly shows the violation of the Elections Act 2017. Let us first consider Section 20 here:

“All constituencies for general seats shall, as far as practicable, be delimited having regard to the distribution of population in geographically compact areas, physical features, existing boundaries of administrative units, facilities of communication and public convenience and other cognate factors to ensure homogeneity in the creation of constituencies. As far as possible, variation in population of constituencies of any Assembly shall not ordinarily exceed ten percent. If the limit of ten percent under sub-section is exceeded in an exceptional case, the Commission shall record reasons thereof in the delimitation order.”

The ECP issued the Preliminary Report of Delimitation²² 2023 and proudly noted the following in para 5:

“ ... the principles of delimitation have been followed in true spirit. The population of the province/area has been divided by the total number of general seats and the average population or quota per National Assembly seat was obtained. In calculating total number of seats, a fraction of 0.5 and above was generally taken as one seat and fraction below 0.5 was ignored”

Despite these assurances, new delimitation was challenged from almost every constituency. Overall petitions against the fresh delimitations were filed from 69% and 83% of the National Assembly and Provincial constituencies respectively. The highest number of constituencies where delimitation was challenged happened to be in Islamabad, followed by Punjab. Some grievances may have been made on frivolous grounds, but a large majority appeared to be genuine. See Table 18. It shows the assembly-wise percentage of constituencies where delimitation was challenged.



Time Line Jan. 2024

- SC accepted ECP's appeal to strip PTI of 'bat' as election symbol for GE-2024.
- Former [Prime Minister Imran Khan](#) is sentenced for 10 years in prison for leaking state secrets.

²². <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Ya2XbsT6Igl4tQqyDPKH1f3IPzPiFAhX/view>



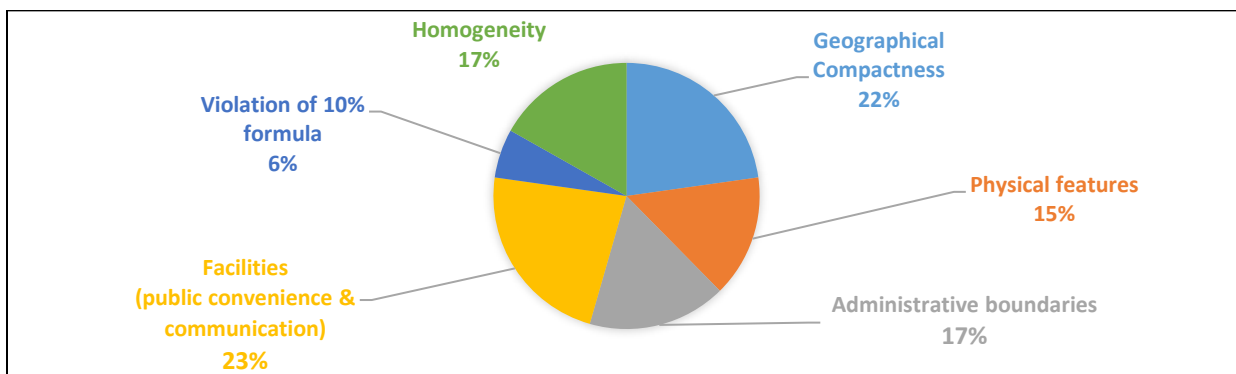
Table 18: Petitions filed against delimitation of constituencies for GE-2024

Province	NA based petition	PA based petitions
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	42%	86%
Islamabad	100%	—
Punjab	84%	88%
Sindh	51%	72%
Baluchistan	69%	80%
Total	69%	83%

Source: ECP Website, filed petitions. Compiled by PATTAN.

Chart 4 shows that on all six delimitation principles, the ECP did not draw boundaries prudently and diligently. A study of petitions and the ECP website showed that in 23% of newly delimited constituencies, the principles of public convenience and geographical compactness were violated. Remember, equality of vote is a fundamental principle in any election. In 6% of cases, this principle was also violated. Moreover, under the law, the ECP was duty-bound to record reason/s if a variance of 10% could not be followed due to unavoidable factors in certain constituencies. Though the ECP recorded the reasons in some cases, it didn't explain the reasons adequately. For instance, Muree PP-06 consisted of 373,000 population, and its neighboring provincial constituency PP-07 had 480,000 population – a difference of more than 100,000 people. Intriguingly, the ECP neither followed the principle of 10% variance nor the geographical compactness principle.

Chart 4: Reported violations of the principles of delimitation of constituencies.



Source: ECP Website, filed petitions. Compiled by PATTAN.

Population density (persons per Sq. Km.) plays a very crucial role in voter's turnout and electioneering which are major objectives of the ECP. However, it appears that the ECP did not care about it during the delimitation of constituencies, voters' registration and polling scheme etc. As a result, where constituencies should have been smaller, they are larger and vice versa. Consider the following examples. Population density in Kohistan, Tharparkar, Thatta, Bannu, Kohat, and Omar Kot etc. varies between 104 and 374 while in Karachi it varies between 43,000 and 76,000 persons. Yet, in most cases, there appears



an inverse relationship between population density and the size of the constituency/number of allocated voters. Bajaur is one of the largest constituencies of Pakistan having a density between 200 and 1200 persons. Its population is 1,288,000 population and 665,000 voters. On the other hand, in Karachi, there is not even one NA constituency which is bigger than 600,000. Rather Karachi East NA-235 had just 170,176 voters, while its population was 1,024,024. Hence, Karachi appears to have more representation than many other regions of the country. The districts of Haripur, Bannu and Attock had more than 700,000 voters each.

4.9. Fragmentation of Constituencies and Representation – A Unique Innovation

sWe also found yet another unprecedented phenomenon. Instead of following the decades-old good practice of having two provincial constituencies (PCs) completely under one national constituency (NC), for this election four, five and in some cases even six PCs were clubbed with one NC, and vice-versa. But not completely because that would have caused an obvious scandal. So, polling stations of one or two PCs were completely clubbed with one NC, while from the rest of PC, even six or ten polling stations were merged. This new tool of gerrymandering was introduced in many but very selected regions e.g. Peshawar, Lahore, Karachi, and some constituencies of Balochistan. For instance, Karachi NA-242 shared polling stations with four PCs. Only one (PS-112) had shared all the polling stations with NA-242, while the rest of the three PCs shared just a fraction of the polling stations with the NA-242. For example, PS-111 shared only 16 of 89, and PS-114 shared 45 of 143 polling stations with NA-242. Moreover, Lahore's NA-128 and NA-130 also shared polling stations with more than two PCs. In the case of NA-128, it was spread over five PCs. It had 433 polling stations (PSs) with 678,139 registered voters which were distributed and shared with five provincial seats – PP-156 (66 PSs), PP-161-(70 PSs), PP-169 (128 PSs), PP-170(108 PSs) and PP-171 (61 PSs).



Though this new method of gerrymandering deserves detailed investigation, brief comments will suffice for the purpose of this report. Interestingly every returned candidate from such constituency was leader or minister of the coalition government which came into being after the election. But how did this unique method was used and allowed to make an impact deserves some explanation. First, the ECP violated the principle of convenience. Second, it created some space to manipulate the polling process and result forms in the fragmented polling stations. For instance, if one set of Presiding Officers (POs) or Returning Officers (ROs) refuses to change the results in favour of certain candidates, another set of officials was to be available to do the unlawful act. Our audit of the result forms also revealed that turnout in the polling stations of the fragmented provincial constituencies was likely to be higher than rest of the polling stations and the margin of victory in such polling stations appeared to have surged. For details see. In short, it was an attempt to minimise the risk of defeat.

This tool might have confused voters of PTI as the party had been denied the election symbol. Therefore, finding PTI's candidate on the ballot was made difficult. Also, some voters might have stamped wrong candidates, which would have enhanced the chances of the favourite candidates. This was yet another example of rigging to deny a level playing field to every party.

Simply at every stage of the electoral cycle, coercion and manipulation became a norm. Despite all these hurdles and oppression, the voters frustrated regime's strategy on the polling day. It was no doubt an unprecedented defiance to an unprecedented rigging. The regime instead of respecting peoples' mandate, unleashed a new wave of **WAR ON VOTERS**, which reached its peak on November 26. The four Ds describe the whole electoral cycle of GE-2024: Delay – Deny – Detain – Destroy.



Time Line Feb. 2024

- General Elections held.
- Mobile phone & internet services were suspended nation-wide.
- PTI emerged as single largest party in NA, and two provinces.
- ECP failed to meet deadlines to announce provisional election results as instructed under the law.
- PML-N, PPP and MQMP agreed to form a coalition government.
- Maryam Nawaz took oath as first female Punjab CM.
- Syed Murad Ali Shah took oath as CM Sindh.
- Rawalpindi commissioner says poll results manipulated under his watch.



5. AUDIT OF RESULT FORMS

5.1. Tale of Form 47 (Provisional Consolidated Statement of Results of the Count)

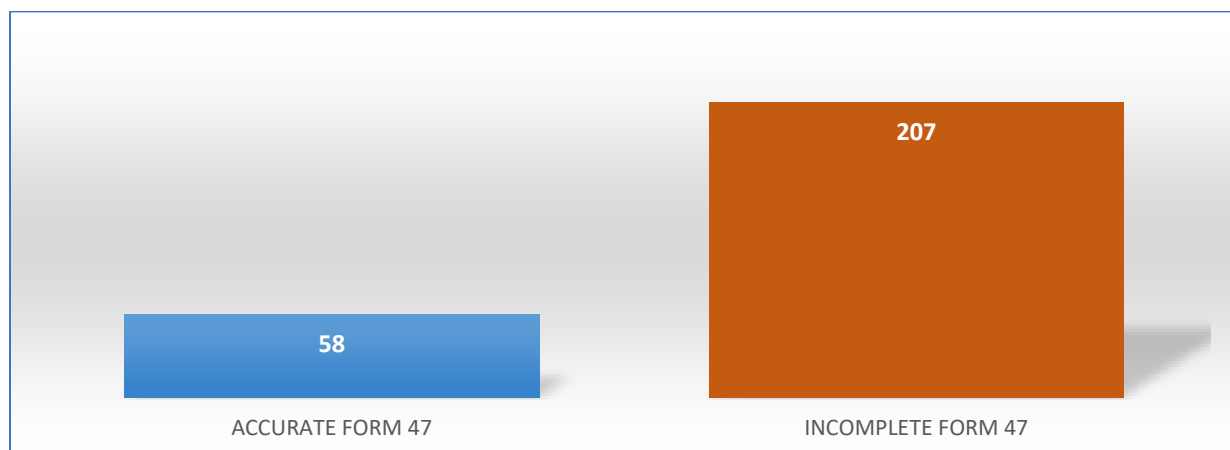
PATTAN thoroughly examined Form-47s of 265 National Constituencies soon after they were released and the careful examination substantiated the concerns of the public and media. We shared the findings with the media in the first week of June²³. Overall, as many as 78% or 207 of 265 Form-47s were found to be incomplete or not prepared diligently according to the requirements of the Elections Act 2017 or the Election Rules, as listed in Table 19. For instance, on more than two-thirds of the forms, the designations and names of parent departments of ROs were missing. One-fourth (25%) of the forms lacked official seals/stamps and another 25% forms did not have any information of the place where forms were prepared. On 17% of the forms, we found calculation or counting errors. If one reads the findings of the examination of Form-47s with the audits of the rest of the result forms, suspicion of rigging turns into truth. For instance, rejected votes or polled votes written on Form-45 must be same on the rest of the result Forms. But, in most cases, it didn't. See the following Tables and Charts.

Moreover, our examination of Form-45s, Form-46s and Form-48s, and the comparative counts of these election result forms not only reveals a massive mess but also shows the level of inefficiency of polling officials. Due to space constraints, PATTAN will present these findings in Volume II.

Time Line March 2024

- Mir Sarfaraz Ahmed Bugti took oath as CM Balochistan.
- Ali Amin Gandapur was sworn in as the CM KPK:
- [Shehbaz Sharif was elected as Pakistan's Prime Minister for second time.](#)
- The SC unanimously ruled that former PM [Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was denied a fair trial before his execution by hanging in April 1979.](#)
- [Asif Ali Zardari elected as President of Pakistan for the second time.](#)
- PTI held protests across the country against rigging.

Chart 5: Overall number of correct, incomplete and incorrect Form-47s. GE-2024



Source: ECP website.

²³. [Pattan's report](#) and [press coverage](#)



Table 19: Missing essential information and errors on the examined Form 47s. (Form 47s of 265 NAs)

Missing information & errors	Numbers	Percentage
Missing result of polling stations	13	4.9
Male-female polled & disaggregated votes	9	3.4
Missing polled votes	1	0.4
Missing rejected votes	2	0.8
Counting error in obtained votes by candidate	35	13.2
Calculation error in polled votes & rejected votes	10	3.8
Date and time of form preparation	8	3.0
Missing name of place, where forms prepared	65	24.5
Missing ROs' official seal/stamp	64	24.2
Missing designation of Ros	182	68.7
Missing ROs' signature	3	1.1
Not readable	3	1.1

Source: PATTAN compiled from ECP Website

5.2. From Ballot Stuffing to Spoiling of Ballots and Fake Result Forms

There was a time when ballot stuffing used to be one of the most common methods of rigging in Pakistan. In the 2002 General Elections, spoiling of ballots became more visible, as it doubled from 0.41 million in GE-1997 to 0.79 million in 2002, and since then it has been keeping a steady growth. The overkill became evident when spoilt ballots surpassed the margin of victory (MOV) in 2002. Interestingly, there appears a pattern. In most cases where this phenomenon existed, most of the returned candidates happened to be the future ruling party or likely to be those who would play some important role in coming years in the assemblies. It was the case in almost every election including GE-2024. For example, Prime Minister, Mr. Shehbaz Sharif, his son Hamza Sharif, Chairman Senate Mr. Syed Yusaf Reza Gilani, his son Syed Ali Musa Gilani, Ameer Muqam, Sardar Awais Lagari, Mirza Akhtiar Baig, Abdul Hakim Baloch, and Ali Jan Mizari and many more from constituencies of provincial assemblies. In total 17 of 30 NA such seats were 'won' by PMLN, six by PPP, four by independents and three by other parties in GE-2024.



Time Line April 2024

- Senate election held, but KP MPAs were not allowed to elect Senators for KP.
- Sindh High Court ordered to restore public access to X:



Chart 6: Party-wise distribution of NA seats where spoilt ballots were more than MOV.

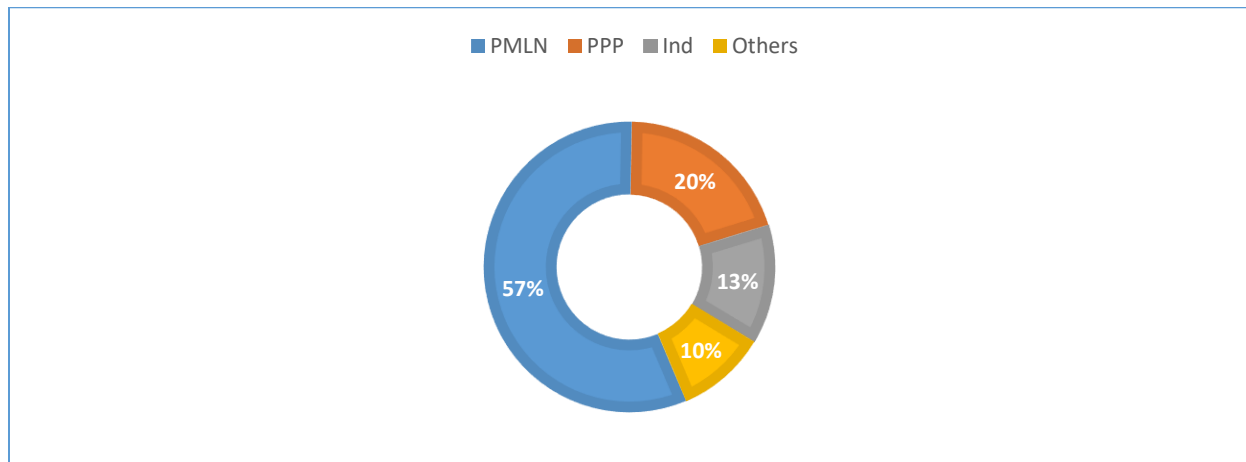


Table 20: Party-wise NA returned candidates where MOV was less than rejected votes, GE-2024.

Province	PMLN	PPP	PTI	Ind	JUI	BNP	PNAP	Total
KP	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Punjab	13	3	0	2	0	0	0	18
Sindh	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Baluchistan	3	0	0	1	1	1	1	7
Total	17	6	0	4	1	1	1	30

In GE-2024 as many as 2.93% or 1.75 million ballots of 265 National Assembly constituencies were wasted. In other words, 3% of the total turnout was likely to have been wasted or manipulated merely by spoiling the genuine ballots. In Balochistan where turnouts have often been low, the percentage of spoiled ballots is nearly 4%. And this has been happening for long. By introducing Electronic Voting Machine (EVM), this rigging method could have been eliminated but the current ruling parties in 2022 amended the section of the Elections Act 2017 which had envisioned the gradual adoption of EVM.

Table 21: Showing rejected votes in various general elections

Year	Rejected votes	% of polled votes
2024	1.75 m	2.93*
2018	1.67 m	3.05
2013	1.50 m	3.25
2008	0.81 m	2.27
2002	0.79 m	2.64
1997	0.41 m	2.06
1993	0.27 m	1.30

*We are using the ECP data for the sake of audit. According to our estimate between 2-3million fake votes were added on Form-47s.



Table 22: Province-wise total rejected ballots in NA constituencies GE-2024

Province	NA Constituencies	Total Rejected Votes	% of polled votes
KPK	45	242,401	2.96
Punjab	141	1,009,560	2.72
Sindh	61	402,623	3.53
Balochistan	16	86,712	3.85
Islamabad	3	3,063	0.51
Grand Total	266	1,744,359	2.93



6. PAKISTAN'S ELECTION: GLOBAL MEDIA, UN, CIVIL SOCIETY AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

International media have done a great deal of work in covering almost all significant events that took place before, during and in the aftermath of the general elections of Pakistan. Moreover, many newspapers provided a generous space for opinion writers. They also wrote editorials about the quality of the conduct of elections and the role of the military establishment in Pakistan's elections and politics. Most of them commented from the perspective of civil liberties, human rights and democracy. Almost all the leading civil society organisations and think tanks working for the improvement of human rights and democracy issued statements. Which is likely to have enhanced the morale of the civil rights activists and political workers in the country. Likewise, many foreign governments as well as parliamentarians, Senators and elected representatives especially from the Global North critically commented on the conduct of the elections. The UN-Chief on Human Rights and Democracy also issued a statement.

Despite variance in political ideologies and interests, there appeared a consensus amongst the world community that Pakistan's elections were rigged and the electoral watchdog failed to provide a level playing field to all parties. Some even showed concerns that the military establishment had interfered in elections. But, almost everyone criticised the severe restrictions on FREEDOMS, civil liberties and media. Which reflected the opinions of most of the people, civil society and election observers of Pakistan. Here are some relevant examples:

First, we would like to mention here the statement (issued a day before the polling) of The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). It showed serious concern about the *"harassment' and acts of violence against members of the Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI) party."* UN Human Rights Commissioner Volker Turk *"urged authorities to use these elections as an opportunity to "recommit to the democratic process."²⁴*

UN rights spokesperson Liz Throssell also noted, *"We deplore all acts of violence against political parties and candidates and urge the authorities to uphold the fundamental freedoms necessary for an inclusive and meaningful democratic process."* *These actions violate Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)."*

Human Rights Watch²⁵ stated in its World Report 2024 *"Pakistan's government clamped down on critical voices in the media, the political opposition, and nongovernmental organizations continued. The authorities routinely use draconian counterterrorism and sedition laws to intimidate critics."* Soon after the polling

Time Line June 2024

- IHC overturned Imran Khan's conviction on leaking state secrets.

²⁴. <https://www.jurist.org/news/2024/02/un-rights-body-expresses-concern-over-violence-against-political-parties-ahead-of-pakistan-elections/>

²⁵ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/02/06/pakistan-needs-more-elections-be-democracy>



HRW issued this statement²⁶ on 12 Feb regarding the conduct of elections, *“The elections were marred by the authorities’ widespread clampdown on freedom of expression and association. The mass detention and harassment of supporters of the PTI, including a ban on its election symbol, undermined a fair vote and prevented a level playing field for all candidates. The authorities harmed the credibility of the electoral process by shutting down cell phone signals on election day and delaying the announcement of election results. The government should respect the results.”*

Another credible human rights organisation – Amnesty International on the polling day issued this statement²⁷ *“The decision to suspend telecommunications and mobile internet services on an election day is a blunt attack on the rights to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. It is reckless to impede access to information as people head out to polling stations on the heels of devastating bomb blasts and what has been an intense crackdown on the opposition in the lead up to the elections in the country.”*

On 9 Feb a day after the polling, Aljazeera reported²⁸: *“Several countries have called for authorities to investigate reported irregularities in Pakistan’s general elections as vote counting is under way. Results started to trickle in nearly 12 hours after polling for national and provincial assemblies ended on Thursday.”* The channel also quoted the official statement of the US government: *“We join credible international and local election observers in their assessment that these elections include undue restrictions on freedoms of expression, association, and peaceful assembly. We condemn electoral violence ... and are concerned about allegations of interference in the electoral process. Claims of interference or fraud should be fully investigated.”*

Aljazeera also quoted statement of UK Foreign Minister David Cameron: *“Not all parties were able to formally contest the election and that “legal processes” were used to prevent some political leaders from participating.”* He also noted *“restrictions to internet access, as well as delays and irregularities in reporting.”* The European Union statement echoed feelings of the people of Pakistan: we *“praised the continued “commitment to democracy” by the people of Pakistan. We regret the lack of a level playing field due to the inability of some political actors to contest the elections, restrictions to freedom of assembly, freedom of expression both online and offline, restrictions of access to the internet, as well as allegations of severe interference in the electoral process, including arrests of political activists.”* The EU also called on authorities to *“ensure a timely and full investigation of all reported election irregularities”*.

The Express Tribune²⁹ quoted coverage of CNN on the polling day *“Polls close across Pakistan after millions vote in election mired in controversy”*. Humeira Iqtidar, Professor of Politics in the Department of Political

Time Line July 2022

- sc ruled that PTI was unlawfully deprived of at least 20 reserved seats in the National Assembly
- Imran Khan, Bushra Bibi acquitted in Iddat case

²⁶. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/02/12/pakistan-ensure-fair-peaceful-transition-power>

²⁷. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/02/pakistan-election-day-internet-shutdown-is-a-reckless-attack-on-peoples-rights/>

²⁸. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/9/serious-concerns-world-reacts-to-pakistan-polls-as-vote-count-continues>

²⁹. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2455837/how-international-media-is-covering-pakistans-elections>



Economy at King's College London observed³⁰, *“Elections in Pakistan delivered a surprise majority to Imran Khan’s party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and an unambiguous blow to the military’s attempts at managing politics in the country”*

The Guardian³¹ reported on 13 Feb 2024 - *“Mobile services, including the internet, had been suspended across the country on the pretext of security issues. Those aware of the decision-making said the real reason was to keep voter turnout low, making the results much easier for Pakistan’s powerful military to “manage” and, most importantly, keep supporters of the former prime minister Imran Khan away from the ballot box.”*

Wikipedia reports provide lots of details regarding polling and the environment in which election had been held.³²

A Research Briefing published³³ for the House of Commons reached to this conclusion: *“International community, including the UK, US and EU, expressed concerns over freedom of expression, and the upholding of human rights ahead of the election. The UK also raised the issue of party leaders and parties being excluded by legal processes and unable to use party symbols. The US called for any claims of interference or fraud to be fully investigated.”*

Though for the last year, a ruthless crackdown against dissenting voices has been intensified, and national media appears to have been muzzled, the issue of the theft of the mandate continues to keep the country in an unending instability. And above all, to save the stolen mandate the establishment has destroyed the structure and spirit of Pakistan’s Constitution. Consider. On 24 January 2025, Amnesty International issued an alarming statement against the passage of the draconian Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) by the National Assembly which consists of MPs whose majority had won due to alleged rigging. According to the statement it *“will further tighten the government’s grip over Pakistan’s heavily controlled digital landscape. And it had been presented in the absence of any consultation or debate.”*³⁴ Furthermore, according to DAWN *“Journalists have assailed the legislation as an attack on freedom of expression.”*³⁵ In response to a brutal crackdown against peaceful protesters, on 27th Nov Amnesty International³⁶ issued the following statement. *“Disturbing reports and testimonies regarding the unlawful use of force during a*

Time Line Oct. 2024

- Widespread protests held against the proposed 26th Amendment.
- 26th Amendment passed by the Parlement in an extremely controversial environment.

³⁰. <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/key-trends-revealed-by-the-pakistan-elections-the-world-should-look-out-for-during-2024>

³¹. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/13/pakistan-election-imran-khan-military-nawaz-sharif-coalition-government>

³² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024_Pakistani_general_election

³³ <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-10028/CBP-10028.pdf>

³⁴. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2025/01/pakistan-authorities-pass-bill-with-sweeping-controls-on-social-media/>

³⁵. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1887592/changes-to-pecalaw-may-further-tighten-govts-grip-on-pakistans-digital-landscape-warns-amnesty>

³⁶. <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/pakistan-brutal-and-lethal-crackdown-imran-khan-supporters-condemned>



Government-enforced communication blackout are emerging. Continued restrictions on reporting by media and independent observers have made it difficult to verify the number of casualties and raise urgent questions about accountability for human rights abuses.” It called “for a prompt, thorough, impartial, effective and transparent investigation into the deaths and injuries of protesters, as well as the unlawful use of force including lethal and less-lethal weapons by security personnel.” In short, “*War Against Voters*” and their representatives is likely to persist in the coming months.



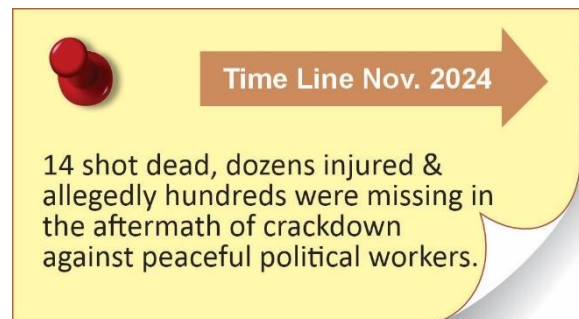
7. THE FORGOTTEN CASE OF RAWALPINDI COMMISSIONER –

LIAQAT ALI CHATTAHA

Mr. Chattah was likely to be a ‘lone wolf’ in a crowd of thousands of cowardly civil servants. He was brave enough to state that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, Justice (Rd) Qazi Foz Ismail and Chief Election Commissioner Sikandar Sultan Raja were allegedly behind the rigging. Since then, nobody knows about his whereabouts, and nobody talks about him. But let’s hope that on the first anniversary of the rigged elections, his name may find some space in the media as it did on 17th Feb 24.

Let’s recall how the media had covered his statement of the 16th. His statement substantiates the claims of various parties as well as the findings of observer groups and the PATTAN’s audit of the ECP result forms.

On 17th Feb, The Guardian³⁷ reported: “authorities in Rawalpindi, changed the results of independent candidates – referring to candidates backed by the former prime minister Imran Khan’s party – who were leading with a margin of more than 70,000 votes.” The Guardian quoted Zahid Hussain, an independent political analyst about Chattha’s confession about rigging, “the commissioner’s confession confirmed that there had been large-scale rigging in general elections. He said the massive riggings and the senior bureaucrat coming out in public had pushed the country into a deeper crisis. He further said, “Everyone knows that the military and election commission were behind this large scale of rigging in Pakistan. The confessional statement is proof of the election rigging which many of us already knew,” Voice of America also reported³⁸ on 17 Feb the statement of Mr. Chattha - “We put fake stamps on ballot papers, turning losers into winners and reversing margins of 70,000 votes at times across 13 National Assembly seats.” He further said, “I apologize to all my returning officers who were working under my supervision and crying when I pushed them to commit a wrongful act against their free will.”



³⁷. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/17/senior-pakistan-official-admits-election-rigging-as-protests-grip-country>

³⁸. <https://www.voanews.com/a/official-resigns-admits-tampering-in-pakistan-s-controversy-marred-vote-/7491919.html>



Aljazeera also covered³⁹ the issue on 17 Feb by reporting the HRCP's statement, *"The integrity of the 2024 elections was compromised, not only by lack of competence on the part of the ECP but also by constant pressure from extra-democratic quarters and questionable decisions by the caretaker government, HRCP, referring to the country's powerful military."*

On 18th Feb New York Times also published⁴⁰ a story about the confessional statement of Mr. Chattha, *"... a startling claim strengthening a sense that the vote was among the least credible in Pakistan's history, and deepening the turmoil that has seized the country ever since people went to the polls this month. "We converted losers into winners, reversing margins of 70,000 votes of independent candidates for 13 national Parliament seats,"* According to Pakistan's Dawn News, the commissioner admitted he was *"deeply involved in serious crime like mega election rigging 2024"* and said that *"stabbing the country in its back" does not allow him to sleep*. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, also said that this confession revealed the *"involvement of the state bureaucracy in rigging in Pakistan is beginning to be exposed"*. English daily DAWN further reported⁴¹ on 18 Feb, *"We converted the losers into winners, reversing margins of 70,000 votes in 13 national assembly seats,"*⁴² he told reporters, also implicating the head of the election commission and the country's top judge." The International Center for Transitional Justice⁴³ also produced his statement along with brief comments. Though, Pakistan's election commission rejected Chattha's allegations, and promised to "hold an enquiry" it didn't take a single step to initiate the promised investigation.

If for a moment, we consider Mr. Chattah's statement as true that the ECP-Administration had converted losers into winners, even those who were having 70,000 fewer votes than the real winners, then we need to find some evidence. Examining election data of the Rawalpindi constituencies shows some suspicious trends. For instance, in three of the constituencies, rejected or spoilt ballot papers were more than the margin of victory. For instance, in NA-59 PMLN won by 11,964 votes but as many as 24,547 ballots were excluded from the count, see below Table No 24. In the same constituency while the Gender Voter Gap (GVG) on electoral roll was just 1.73%, for the polled votes GVG surged to 37%. Either women were stopped from voting or fake digits were added on Form 45s of male polling stations. This is also a very peculiar trend as in the adjacent constituencies (having similar demography) the void between the two GVGs was insignificant. Moreover, PMLN won in all the 11 examined constituencies and the total margin of victory was about 162,000, while the total rejected votes were more 82,000. Moreover, scanning of Form-45s of these constituencies also creates doubts as many forms even lack essential information as well as calculation errors. Doubt thickens. Therefore,

Time Line Dec. 2024

- Imran Khan announced call for 'Civil Disobedience.
- PM formed committee to start negotiations with PTI

³⁹. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/2/17/pakistan-official-admits-involvement-in-rigging-election-results>

⁴⁰. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/18/world/asia/pakistan-election.html>

⁴¹. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1815126>

⁴² <https://www.ictj.org/latest-news/pakistan-official-admits-involvement-rigging-election-results>



further investigation is required. Perhaps, the best way forward is to let Mr. Chattah prove his allegations in the court of law.

Table 23: Unprecedented Means of Rigging used before, during and after polling GE-2024*

Pre-Poll Rigging Purpose: To achieve 'positive' results.	
1.	To delay general elections, population census was not completed in April 2023.
2.	Preliminary census findings were changed likely to adjust political demands.
3.	ECP didn't hold provincial elections for KP & Punjab assemblies despite SC orders.
4.	ECP didn't hold general elections despite clear cut orders of Supreme Court.
5.	ECP announced its decision close to polling on PTI internal elections.
6.	ECP disqualified Imran Khan as Chairman of PTI.
7.	ECP deprived PTI of its electoral symbol.
8.	Potential candidates of PTI were harassed, abducted or arrested.
9.	PTI workers and supporters were harassed and arrested.
10.	Scale of rejection of nomination papers of PTI supported candidates reached to an unprecedented level.
11.	District authorities & Police didn't allow PTI to hold election rallies & canvassing.
12.	Posters and banners of PTI supported candidates were removed.
13.	Extensive fragmentation of NA/PA electoral constituencies.
14.	Independent minded social media and u-tubers were harassed and abducted.
15.	Filing of fictitious cases against PTIs leadership and workers.
16.	Kidnapping and buying off PTI's covering candidates.
17.	Extensive curbs on media and independent journalists
18.	Ban on mentioning the name of a mainstream party leader
19.	To confuse voters, the same names of candidates were printed on ballot papers.
20.	To confuse voters, the same or similar election symbols were allotted.
21.	Unprecedented level of gerrymandering during delimitation of constituencies.
22.	Changes made in polling schemes.
23.	Courts sentenced Imran Khan in three cases just before polling day.
24.	Fragmentation of polling stations & constituencies of voters belong to same family residing at same address.
25.	PTI's candidates were not allowed to run election offices in majority of constituencies.
26.	Scale of shifting polling stations went up many times.
Total	26
Poll-Day Rigging Purpose: To ensure victory	
27.	Blockage of mobile phone, SMS and the internet on polling day
28.	Unlike in the past, voters who were in voting queues & inside the polling stations were not allowed to vote after 5PM.
29.	Polling process was slowed down at large scale.
30.	Higher numbers of voters assigned to many polling station.
31.	Difficulties were created for the polling agents so they could not closely monitor the polling and counting process.
32.	Reporters were not allowed to observe counting of ballots at many places.



33.	Observers were not allowed to observe the whole process of polling, counting & result preparation at many places.
34.	At many places polling agents were evicted or not allowed to watch the whole process.
35.	PTI was not allowed to set up voters' facilitating camps outside polling stations.
36.	Suddenly election results stopped coming mid-night from majority constituencies.
Total	10
Post-Poll Rigging: To save "positive" results	
37.	ECP failed to meet deadlines (2 am & 10 am) to announce provisional election results.
38.	Presiding Officers were allegedly forced to prepare new or tamper with Form-45s.
39.	Most ROs in Punjab, Karachi, Peshawar and Balochistan issued fake form-47s.
40.	Commissioner Rawalpindi confessed that results were changed for 11 NA seats.
41.	PATTAN's audit revealed that 78% or 208 Form 47s contained serious errors.
42.	More than 25% Form-47s were not signed by ROs.
43.	ROs skipped to stamp their seals on result forms, full name, designation.
44.	A large number of Form-45s issued by ECP contained tampering of digits.
45.	ECP failed to make Form-49 public within the stipulated time (14 days).
46.	A large number of Form-45s of ECP were not signed by polling agents.
47.	Gender disaggregated turnout was not mentioned on many forms.
48.	Huge number of Form-45s of ECP were not prepared as instructed by law.
49.	ECP changed result forms which had already been uploaded on its website.
50.	Harassment and abduction of MNAs for supporting 26 th Constitutional Amendment.
51.	Curbing social media through amendments in PECA.
52.	Not allowing PTI to hold rallies against rigging.
53.	In July the ECP modified large number of result forms.
54.	The ECP used litigation as a tool to delay orders of Supreme Court.
55.	Fake and tampered Form-45s were uploaded on the ECP's website
56.	Delays through litigation in setting up of election tribunals.
57.	Establishment of election tribunals without following due process.
58.	More than 90% tribunals have failed even to start hearing on petitions.
59.	During recounting ROs & staff spoilt ballots papers of returned candidates and made runners up the victors.
60.	Not allowing KP assembly to elect its Senators.
61.	Disaggregated turnouts for national, provincial & constituencies not announced by ECP officially.
62.	Denying reserved seats to women and minorities for national & provincial assemblies.
63.	Gender-disaggregated polled votes not given on many Form-45s.
64.	To save the rigged results coercive means are being used one years after the polls.
Total	28

PATTAN compiled from ECP audit and observation.

*For the first time in Pakistan's history, a senior bureaucrat publicly admitted to committing large-scale vote rigging during the elections.



Table 24: Difference between margin of victory and rejected votes in NA seats Rawalpindi Division GE-2024.

District	Constituency	Returned Candidate	Party	Margin of Victory	Rejected Votes
Attock	NA 49	Sheikh Aftab Ahmad	PMLN	9,497	5,191
	NA 50	Malik Sohail Khan	PMLN	9,886	9,939
Muree & Pindi	NA 51	Raja Usama Sarwar	PMLN	35,407	8,482
Rawalpindi	NA 53	Raja Qamar Ul Islam	PMLN	13,530	5,181
	NA 55	Ibrar Ahmed	PMLN	15,556	3,810
	NA 56	M. Hanif Abbasi	PMLN	14,036	4,156
	NA 57	Daniyal Ch.	PMLN	26,542	3,122
Chakwal	NA 58	Tahir Iqbal	PMLN	13,437	2,243
Talagang	NA 59	Sardar Ghulam Abbas	PMLN	11,964	24,547
Jhelum	NA 60	Bilal Azhar Kiani	PMLN	9,474	5,709
	NA 61	Ch. Farukh Altaf	PMLN	3,454	9,659
Total			11	162,783	82,039

Source: Compiled from ECP data



8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR REFORMS

One can draw many conclusions from the conduct of the GE-2024, but at this stage intellectually it is extremely disturbing for us to recommend any reform because in the last two and half years almost every article of Pakistan's Constitution that would have undermined the violators' interests has been breached brazenly and with impunity, and this continues even today. It seems imprudent to talk about reform in such a situation. With one voice, we need to demand – implement the Constitution in letter and spirit - respect the Social Contract. Having said that for the sake of debate, we would like to recommend the following conclusions and recommendations.

Time Line Jan. 2025

- Parliament remained incomplete one year after the general elections: ECP failed to hold elections to fill vacant seats of the Senate from KP and Punjab as well as to distribute reserved quota seats to PTI for NA, Punjab and KP Assemblies.
- Amnesty International, HRCP, rights activists and journalists condemn passage of PECA bill.

Conclusions	Recommendations/reforms
What has been happening in the country since 8 th February 2024 including the latest amendment in the draconian Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) is (a) to sustain the hegemony of the military establishment, and (b) to save the stolen mandate of February 2024. Therefore, every act and every policy including the 26 th Constitutional Amendments have been imposed on the nation to preserve the current set-up. Will it? Only time will tell. However, history indicates the opposite.	
End reliance on undemocratic forces: It is now conspicuously evident from the study and observation of the GE-2024 that a large majority of political leadership was highly dependent on the military establishment and civil bureaucracy to 'win' seats. It was no doubt an unprecedented level of dependency. Most of the current ruling coalition member parties hardly ran an election campaign. Yet, they 'won'.	We urge political leaders to build their parties, launch membership campaigns, and establish party chapters at local levels. Let members elect office bearers at every level.
Yearning for change: Whether one agrees or disagrees with the politics of PTI, or its leader, after GE-1970, it has been established once again in the electoral history of Pakistan that if the leadership of a political party is perceived to be anti-status quo, offers a programme that appeals to the needs, aspirations and sensibilities of the people, and is honest, despite oppression and rigging, despite not-having electable candidates, such a party can still win elections, and can pose sustained resistance to the tyrants. And this can happen even when some political parties, wholeheartedly support the establishment.	Labour unions, bar associations, students' unions, journalists, artists, think tanks and intellectuals must make political parties and leaders accountable on a regular basis, and find ways to involve the public in such campaigns.
FPTP electoral system has failed repeatedly: Various analyses of elections clearly establish a fact that the First-Past-The-Post system in Pakistan has failed repeatedly to translate most of the polled votes into representation and the governments formed as a result never	Pakistan must gradually move to a fully indigenously developed PR system. It is worth stating here that the current system is partially PR as the reserved quota seats are distributed to parties in accordance



represented the majority of the electorates. As they had very shallow roots, they remained vulnerable to manipulation. Moreover, the single-member constituency-based FPTP system provides a huge advantage to wealthy families to capture political power and turn them into political dynasties. These monopolies have damaged democracy in the country.	with their share in returned candidates. Moreover, appropriate amendments to the Elections Act may be introduced to improve the inner workings of political parties.
The ECP acted as a party: We have no hesitation in concluding that the whole ECP had acted like a party. Therefore, Pakistan's 22024 general elections were rigged holistically. Globally may be one of the worst elections of 2024. This is reflected in every result form available on the ECP website. The ECP seems to have left no stone unturned to prove its partisanship. We have, therefore, no hesitation to conclude that, unlike previous ECPs, the present ECP is perceived to be acting as a party throughout the electoral cycle. For instance, as stated above even by the end of one year of the polling, the ECP has not completed elections of the Senate as well as not allocated reserved seats to women and non-Muslims because it would have increased the rightful strength of PTI in assemblies.	The appointment process of the ECP and caretaker administration should be made transparent. Posts should be advertised. CVs of candidates may be shared with the public and selection of candidates should be finalized through the Senate hearing and it should be live cast. At the constituency level ROs should be selected from the judiciary.
Reduce human involvement: PATTAN's audit reveals that the higher the involvement of humans in the preparation of result forms, the higher the likelihood of tampering. For instance, overwriting on original obtained votes, inserting additional digits before or after the obtained votes of candidates, replacing old result forms with new ones (forms 45s and 47s), and changing polling schemes arbitrarily etc.	Gradual adoption of technology from vote registration to delimitation, from polling and tabulation of results must be adopted. EVM with a verifiable paper trail seems to be the most effective way to end rigging. If India and Brazil two largest democracies of the world can adopt EVM, we must also start its use in coming elections.
Overseas Pakistanis: Denying overseas Pakistanis from voting abroad has eroded the popularity of those parties who had opposed it.	Any Pakistani having a Pakistan passport or NICOP and living/working abroad has the right to vote. Therefore, not planning for their voting is a violation of Pakistan's Constitution. Many countries including Turkey are already using various means to facilitate their citizens for voting. We urge all political parties to restore the original section of the Elections Act 2017.
Based on our thorough audit and analysis of the ECP website stats over the last year, we have no hesitation to conclude that most of the election-related data e.g. electoral rolls, polling scheme, results, turnouts, victory margins and obtained votes by various parties do not reflect the truth. We conducted the audit just to find the truth. Most likely truth is that the current rulers lack a mandate. Hence, legitimacy.	



9. AFTERWORD

We stated it right in the beginning of the report that the General Elections 2024 were rigged holistically, comprehensively, aggressively and brazenly at every step of the electoral process. Despite serious constraints, we managed to find out enough evidence from the official website of the ECP to substantiate our assertions. Based on that, we have reached to some conclusions and remedies, hoping to contribute toward making conduct of future elections credible and to deepen democracy in Pakistan.



10. ANNEXURES

Annex. 10. 1: 163 means of rigging in Pakistan

PATTAN's election team has discovered 163 means of rigging in Pakistan. These means are used to achieve "positive" results in elections. These illegal and unethical means could be divided four categories:

- 1, Inter-election period: nature of rigging having cascading affect and likely to determine the fate of elections as it could affect rest of the three categories of rigging. So far, we have found 26 means of rigging in this category.
- 2, Pre-poll rigging: many of the means of rigging mentioned under this category appear to have direct impact in consolidating the 'gains' of the category 1. It covers roughly 60-90 days prior to the polling. This category consists of 51 means of rigging.
- 3, Polling Day rigging: consists of 75 different means of rigging.
- 4, Post poll rigging consists of 11 means of rigging.

Period of rigging	Number of means of rigging
Inter-election period	26
Pre-poll	51
Polling day	75
Post poll	11
Total	163

Gerrymandering and rigging take place at the following four levels.

- (A) Political: parties are damaged/fragmented by establishment through manipulating loyalties of electable dynasties.**
- (B) Administrative: state officials are transferred and posted to help the pliant electable dynasties (PEDs).**
- (C) Societal: state officials assist the PEDs to exploit inequalities through incentives, benefits, coercion, and persuasion.**
- (D) Media/civil society: news is fabricated, distorted and presented as truth/fact through media outlets.**

(A) Inter-election rigging having cascading effects. (Perpetual rigging)

1. Appointment of pliant ECP chief & members.
2. Appointment of pliant caretaker PM & CMs.
3. Plan/conspiracy to achieve "positive results". Remember financial & logistic support provided to IJI.
4. Transfers/promotions/ posting of compliant officials at higher level.
5. Transfers/promotions/ posting of compliant officials at district level.
6. Provision of benefits to local factional leaders through dev projects, contracts & induction in govt committees.
7. Media: govt sponsored adds, talk shows, spinning of facts, use of social media platforms to spread fake news & half truths etc.
8. Sponsored and flawed opinion polls.
9. Legislation: amendments in laws (for instance NAB law & the Elections Act, end of the use of EVM & I-voting facility to overseas Pakistanis).
10. Delimitation: gerrymandering (electoral boundaries are drawn without considering legal standards).
11. Violation of equality of vote principle across constituencies.
12. Split or exclusion of certain communities from certain constituencies.
13. Electoral rolls: changes in & breaking of census blocks.
14. Splitting of HHs, transfers of voters without consent etc.
15. Population census: not to count fully unwanted communities properly i.e. women, trans-gender & minorities.



16. None or selective scrutiny of political party accounts.
17. Internal party elections: none or discriminatory implementation of the Section XI (Political Parties) of the Elections Act 2017.
18. Issuance of tickets: none or selective enforcement of Elections Act 2017.
19. Not making voters' aware of polling process & their rights as unaware voter is vulnerable to manipulation.
20. Not punishing election officials for negligence and offences.
21. MPS' driven development schemes negatively impact level playing field to all contesting candidates.
22. Alternative to power outage is not provided to PSs. Power outage could be used to tamper record.
23. Differential access to ECP Short Code 8300 deprives pre-paid [poor] users of SMS packages.
24. Social protection/safety projects are launched to consolidate and enhance vote bank.
25. Discriminatory practices in allocation of development funds to MPs.
26. Discriminatory spending of development funds by MPs in his/her constituency.

(B). Pre-poll rigging (60-90 days prior to polling)

27. Shifting of loyalties of electable dynasties.
28. Appointment of pliant election staff (DROs, ROs, POs, APOs, DEC's etc.)
29. Appointment of unqualified and pliant DROs, ROs and AROs.
30. Transfers, posting of DPOs, DCs, Acs, SHOs etc. to hotly contested districts.
31. Load shedding and provision of utilities improved in bye-election constituencies at the cost of other areas.
32. Formation of tribunals & benches, which helps certain candidates.
33. Withdrawal of cases & resolution of disputes between factional leaders through officials' influence.
34. Cases are registered against local influential who refused to support certain party or candidate.
35. Road works, street pavements, gas, water, & electricity connections.
36. Improving utility services in bye-election constituencies.
37. Filing cases against unwanted candidates and their supporters.
38. The law to fill the vacated reserved seats is not applied according to the law.
39. Bugging and recording unwanted candidates' activities and releasing them through social media.
40. Loans written off and outstanding utility bills cleared.
41. Distribution of districts on different phases of local election is done to provide benefit to a certain party.
42. To suppress turn out of certain communities, distance to polling stations is increased.
43. Unannounced changes in polling scheme including the following.
44. Numbering of PSs changed without informing all parties/voters.
45. Disqualification of unwanted candidates on frivolous grounds.
46. Polling stations are merged without informing candidates and voters.
47. New & ghost PSs are created.
48. Unannounced transfer of votes to new areas without consent of voters.
49. To suppress turn out, family votes are split across polling stations.
50. Fixing date or day of polling which could benefit to a certain party.
51. Proxy & dummy candidates fielded by administration to confuse voters and split the support of certain candidates.
52. Jobs and contracts are promised.
53. Allocation of similar electoral symbols to dummy candidates/parties.
54. Not applying disqualification laws to all candidates judiciously.
55. Not providing rigorous training & not imparting ethical values to polling staff.
56. Change of electoral rolls for polling stations without informing anyone.
57. Voters of rival party barred from casting vote by buying or confiscating of their CNICs.
58. Votes are bought and voters are forced to take oath on holy books.



59. Employees and subordinates are influenced, pressured, and coerced.
60. ECP's monitors willingly accept hospitality of certain candidates.
61. Polling staff willingly accept hospitality of certain candidates as ECP doesn't provide accommodation to them, which paves the way to oblige the polling staff for favour.
62. Selective enforcement of code of conduct (sizes of billboards, banners, posters, leaflets, timing of rallies, display of arms etc.).
63. Selective enforcement of law on corrupt practices (vote suppression, harassment, filing of false FIRs against rivals, barring & pressuring women etc.)
64. Delaying or denying issuance of accreditation cards to reports/observers by ECP.
65. Misuse of religion, sect and ethnicity by taking oath on holy books.
66. Free provision of food during election campaign.
67. Distribution of goods i.e. cycles, rent, sewing machines, cell phones, paying utility bills etc.
68. Cash paid to rival party candidates or their supporters not to campaign effectively.
69. Cash payments are made to hold religious events (milads/majlis).
70. Polling agents of rivals are bribed not to raise objections against malpractices and fraud.
71. Free provision of petrol/diesel coupons.
72. Funding to charitable organisations, community-based organisations and NGOs.
73. Distribution of dowery items to [would be] brides.
74. Cash paid to local influential to set up election offices/camps.
75. Not recording election expenses of certain candidates during election campaign.
76. Flawed opinion polls published and widely circulated.
77. Coverage of certain parties on TV channels, especially on PTV/radio and newspapers is manipulated and amplified and suppressed of others.

(C). Polling day rigging (polling, counting, result preparation and result announcement).

78. Selective enforcement of code of conduct (sizes of billboards, banners, posters, leaflets, timing of rallies, display of arms etc.)
79. Selective enforcement of law on corrupt practices (vote suppression, harassment, filing of false FIRs against rivals, barring & pressuring women etc.)
80. Inadequate security arrangements.
81. Delayed response or action is not taken against certain culprits.
82. Certain candidates are allowed to serve food, water, refreshment to polling staff on polling day.
83. Polling lay out charts are not displayed at prominent places.
84. Polling booths are not set up according to the ECP instructions.
85. Polling agents are forced to sit outside of polling booths or to a corner.
86. Impact: polling agents are literally deprived of their role – violation of election law & rules.
87. Privacy screens for stamping the ballots are not placed according to the ECP instructions.
88. Polling agents of certain candidates/parties are not allowed to enter polling booths in the early hours of polling.
89. Allowing some parties to canvass near or inside polling stations.
90. Allowing many voters to enter polling booths simultaneously which leads to chaos & helps to commit fraud.



91. Providing free transport to voters is illegal, yet it is not stopped. It gives extra ordinary advantage to richer candidates.
92. Use of violence to suppress turnout at certain polling stations.
93. Setting up election camps near polling stations.
94. Stamped and signed ballot papers smuggled out of PS & handed over to favorite candidates.
95. Not keeping ballot boxes in front of APO desk.
96. Allowing unauthorized persons inside polling booths.
97. Allowing certain polling agents to interfere in polling.
98. Not showing empty ballot boxes to polling agents and not getting signatures of polling agents on Form 42.
99. Not sealing the ballot boxes properly.
100. Not breaking the seals of ballot boxes in front of polling agents.
101. Not informing & showing polling agents about series & number of ballot papers, all kinds of forms available for polling, counting and result preparation etc.
102. Influencing voters inside polling booths.
103. Unauthorized persons are allowed inside polling booths.
104. Polling agents of unwanted parties/candidates are ejected from polling booths.
105. Partisan response to objections of polling agents regarding voters' eligibility/identity.
106. Asking voters about their candidate's choice.
107. Issuing ballot papers without checking CNICs.
108. Not marking indelible ink on thumbs of certain voters.
109. Not calling name loudly of certain voters before issuance of ballot papers.
110. Not allowing differently able persons to have assistance of his/her choice.
111. Not striking of voters' details on rolls after the issuance of ballot paper.
112. POs don't stamp backside of ballot papers, with official mark and sign them.
113. POs don't record on the counterfoil of the ballot paper, the electoral roll number of the voter, CNIC number, and don't stamp them with official mark and thumb impression of the voters.
114. POs don't get thumb impression of voters on electoral rolls.
115. Not allowing voters to poll tendered ballot.
116. Not putting tendered ballots in separate bags.
117. Allowing people to enter polling stations and to vote after expiry of voting hours.
118. Not allowing voters to poll challenged ballots.
119. Issuance of extra ballot papers to voters of 'favorite' candidates.
120. Ballots of unwanted candidates are spoiled by marking extra marks/stamps.
121. Polling agents not shown back of ballots during counting to check stamps/signs.
122. Before opening of ballots, seals are not shown to polling agents.
123. Ballot boxes of all booths not carried to one place in the presence of agents.
124. Counting & sorting of all ballots not done diligently.
125. Rejected ballots not separated from valid.
126. Counting, recording of tendered & challenged ballots on relevant forms not done.
127. Extra stamp/mark are made on ballots of unwanted candidates.
128. Packets for excluded ballots not prepared diligently and not sealed.
129. Separate packets for each candidate are not prepared diligently.
130. Ballot Papers Account Forms are not prepared or not prepared properly.
131. Form 45 are not prepared diligently.
132. Form 45 not issued to all polling agents.
133. Form 45 are not pasted on the outside walls of PS.



134.Counting of each candidate's votes are not done twice.
135.Requests of double counting are ignored if made by unwanted candidate's agent.
136.During the counting backside of ballot papers are not checked.
137.Not examining excluded ballots diligently.
138. Intentionally switching of lights.
139.Stuffing of ballot boxes.
140.Not counting postal ballots.
141.Not recording excluded ballots properly.
142.Rejecting requests of recounting if margin of victory is narrow.
143.Procedure of recounting requests is selectively applied.
144.Not getting signatures of polling/election agents on packets & forms before resealing them.
145.Not issuing attested copies of final consolidated statement of results (Form 49)
146.Inventory of sealed polling bags not prepared diligently.
147.Forms 42 (checking ballot boxes before polling) is not done and prepared.
148.Form 43 (tendered voters list) are not prepared diligently.
149.Form 44 (challenged voters list) are not prepared diligently.
150.Number of ballot paper books (Form 36 – record of ballot papers) are not prepared diligently.
151.Record of postal ballots (Form 37-41) are not kept and counted diligently.
152.Announcement of election results are delayed intentionally.

(D). Post-poll rigging

153. Unnecessary delays in making election result forms available on ECP website.
154. Election material & record are not scrutinized before uploading on website and not kept properly.
155. Action against code violators is taken selectively.
156. Audit of parties' accounts & action against violators not taken indiscriminately.
157. Audit of candidates' expenses (accounts) & action against violators not taken indiscriminately.
158. All election petitions are not treated equally and judiciously.
159. Unnecessary delays & partisan scrutiny of prohibited funds.
160. Election material of all constituencies and polling stations is not audited before storing.
161. Record of postal ballots (Form 37-41) are not kept and counted diligently.
162. Higher courts take long time to decide electoral disputes/petitions.
163.Cases are registered against voters and factional leaders who had refused to support certain candidates.



Annex. 10. 2: ECP Form-45 with Tampering

29

NA-130 LAHORE-IV

Sl. No.	Name of the Candidate	Roll No.	Mark	Grade
1	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	1
2	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	2
3	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	3
4	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	4
5	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	5
6	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	6
7	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	7
8	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	8
9	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	9
10	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	10
11	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	11
12	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	12
13	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	13
14	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	14
15	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	15
16	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	16
17	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	17
18	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	18
19	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	19
20	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	20

Returning Officer
NA-130 (Lahore-IV)

01

NA-130 LAHORE-IV

Sl. No.	Name of the Candidate	Roll No.	Mark	Grade
1	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	1
2	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	2
3	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	3
4	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	4
5	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	5
6	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	6
7	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	7
8	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	8
9	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	9
10	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	10
11	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	11
12	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	12
13	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	13
14	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	14
15	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	15
16	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	16
17	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	17
18	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	18
19	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	19
20	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	20

Returning Officer
NA-130 (Lahore-IV)

29

NA-130 LAHORE-IV

Sl. No.	Name of the Candidate	Roll No.	Mark	Grade
1	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	1
2	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	2
3	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	3
4	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	4
5	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	5
6	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	6
7	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	7
8	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	8
9	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	9
10	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	10
11	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	11
12	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	12
13	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	13
14	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	14
15	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	15
16	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	16
17	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	17
18	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	18
19	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	19
20	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	20

Returning Officer
NA-130 (Lahore-IV)

01

NA-130 LAHORE-IV

Sl. No.	Name of the Candidate	Roll No.	Mark	Grade
1	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	1
2	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	2
3	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	3
4	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	4
5	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	5
6	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	6
7	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	7
8	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	8
9	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	9
10	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	10
11	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	11
12	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	12
13	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	13
14	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	14
15	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	15
16	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	16
17	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	17
18	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	18
19	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	19
20	ABDUL KADIR	07	07	20

Returning Officer
NA-130 (Lahore-IV)



Annex. 10. 3: Form-45 of different polling stations with the same writing

No 46. Govt Model Girls H/S Deo Strong Road Wazir

49

Serial	نام	تعداد	مجموعہ
1	آغا محمد	00	00
2	آغا محمد	00	00
3	آغا محمد	07	07
4	آغا محمد	01	01
5	آغا محمد	00	00
6	آغا محمد	00	00
7	آغا محمد	07	07
8	آغا محمد	05	05
9	آغا محمد	00	00
10	آغا محمد	00	00
11	آغا محمد	16	16
12	آغا محمد	00	00
13	آغا محمد	00	00
14	آغا محمد	22	22
15	آغا محمد	00	00
16	آغا محمد	1907	1907
17	آغا محمد	00	00
18	آغا محمد	207	207
19	آغا محمد	2014	2014
20	آغا محمد	2016	2016

Returning Officer
NA-130 (Lahore-XXX)

Signature: [Signature]

Stamp: [Stamp]

GAUT Model Girls H/S Deo Strong Road Wazir

24 Hady College

24

Serial	نام	تعداد	مجموعہ
1	آغا محمد	—	—
2	آغا محمد	—	—
3	آغا محمد	03	03
4	آغا محمد	—	—
5	آغا محمد	—	—
6	آغا محمد	—	—
7	آغا محمد	—	—
8	آغا محمد	02	02
9	آغا محمد	02	02
10	آغا محمد	01	01
11	آغا محمد	06	06
12	آغا محمد	—	—
13	آغا محمد	—	—
14	آغا محمد	16	16
15	آغا محمد	—	—
16	آغا محمد	1190	1190
17	آغا محمد	—	—
18	آغا محمد	70	70
19	آغا محمد	1190	1190
20	آغا محمد	10	10

Returning Officer
NA-130 (Lahore-XXX)

Signature: [Signature]

Stamp: [Stamp]

24 Hady College



Annex. 10. 4: Form-45 of NA and PA of the same polling station of NA-28 with two different counts of polled vote

The image shows two Form-45s from NA-28. The left form is for the NA and the right form is for the PA. Both forms show a list of candidates and their respective vote counts. The left form has a total of 666 votes, while the right form has a total of 1665 votes.

Serial Number	Name of Candidate	Number of Votes
1	Arif Khan	01
2	Arif Khan	01
3	Arif Khan	01
4	Arif Khan	01
5	Arif Khan	01
6	Arif Khan	01
7	Arif Khan	01
8	Arif Khan	01
9	Arif Khan	01
10	Arif Khan	01
11	Arif Khan	01
12	Arif Khan	01
13	Arif Khan	01
14	Arif Khan	01
15	Arif Khan	01
16	Arif Khan	01
17	Arif Khan	01
18	Arif Khan	01
19	Arif Khan	01
20	Arif Khan	01
21	Arif Khan	01
22	Arif Khan	01
23	Arif Khan	01
24	Arif Khan	01
25	Arif Khan	01
26	Arif Khan	01
27	Arif Khan	01
28	Arif Khan	01
29	Arif Khan	01
30	Arif Khan	01
31	Arif Khan	01
32	Arif Khan	01
33	Arif Khan	01
34	Arif Khan	01
35	Arif Khan	01
36	Arif Khan	01
37	Arif Khan	01
38	Arif Khan	01
39	Arif Khan	01
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About PATTAN-Coalition38

PATTAN is one of the leading civil society organisations of Pakistan and has been working to empower marginalised classes to make state and govt bodies accountable for improving governance of elections, disasters and rights. Currently, PATTAN is the secretariat of Coalition38 - a largest network of CSOs, labour unions, CBOs, and intellectuals.

Coalition38 aims to influence the state institutions for the implementation of Articles 3; 29; 37, and 38 of Pakistan's Constitution in letter and spirit through research, awareness raising, social mobilization, networking of civil society including marginalised people and women.

Pattan's Vision

To have a democratic and just society where all people enjoy equal economic, political, socio-cultural, religious rights, equitable opportunities and benefit from the development process without discrimination.

Pattan's Mission

Pattan is committed to mainstreaming marginalised and isolated communities, including women in political and economic decision-making processes at all levels through mobilisation, networking, capacity building and advocacy for structural and policy change.